

A System of Labour Force Statistics

By

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INTRODUCTION

THE British West Indian territories are, at the present time, faced with the need for large-scale economic development in order to solve their problems of unemployment and underemployment. If plans for such development are to be based on sound knowledge of the problems, one of our most urgent tasks must be to build up a series of accurate, up-to-date labour statistics for each territory.

Many of the territories have collected some labour statistics within recent years, but this information is, in most cases, fragmentary and uncorrelated. For example, wage tribunals, boards and commissions of enquiry and other *ad hoc* bodies have, from time to time, collected and published labour statistics which have been quite useful; little has been done in any territory, however, to build up continuous series of even the most important of these labour statistics for the use of government administrators and businessmen.

An important source of labour statistics in the past have been the decennial population censuses. In the West Indian Census undertaken in 1946, very useful comparable data for the various territories were obtained because of the adoption of regionally agreed definitions for use in collecting statistics about the economic activities of the populations. Such regional agreement has been unusual in the past, but will no doubt soon become the general rule because of the proposed political federation of the British West Indian territories. It is reasonable, therefore, when considering the need for labour statistics, to think in terms of a comprehensive scheme based on the needs of the region as a whole.

Such a scheme will have to cover a wide range of statistics including

- (i) statistics on employment and unemployment;
- (ii) statistics on wages, earnings, hours of work and industrial relations; and
- (iii) statistics on retail prices, family budgets, etc.

This paper deals with those statistics (mainly statistics on employment, unemployment and underemployment) which the territories are likely to

Author's Note: This paper has developed out of a Note submitted by the author as a contribution to the study, by the Central Statistical Office, of the problems of developing a comprehensive programme of Labour statistics for Trinidad. It has now been decided by the Central Statistical Office that annual Labour Force Surveys will be undertaken from 1955, onwards, and these will incorporate many, but not all of the recommendations set out in this paper. The opinions and recommendations expressed remain therefore the author's and are not necessarily the official view of the Central Statistical Office.

collect most efficiently through censuses and surveys. The object of the paper is to set out the main series of statistics that should be collected by these methods, and to suggest how the results might be analysed and published. The usefulness of such statistics will rest largely, however, on the existence of current series of figures for successive short periods, and it will, therefore be essential that the data collected at the decennial population censuses be supported by estimates for each intercensal year as a minimum; as soon as practicable, such estimates should be provided half-yearly or quarterly.

While it would be necessary that the concepts and definitions adopted for the intercensal estimates be identical with those used for the decennial population census, some of the information which could be conveniently derived at the intercensal surveys may be too detailed for collection at census time. On the other hand, many of the detailed analyses and cross-classifications possible with the statistics derived from complete enumeration at the population censuses could not be attempted with data derived from small sample surveys. It has been decided, therefore, to restrict this paper to deal specifically with the type of information that should be collected by sampling methods for intercensal years.

This paper is divided into two parts: Part I sets out the main purposes for which labour force statistics are required in the British West Indies; while Part II consists of a discussion of the usual concepts and definitions, as well as the writer's recommendations for obtaining statistics most suitable for these purposes.

PART I

THE NEED FOR LABOUR FORCE STATISTICS

It is essential that before considering what labour force statistics should be collected and what concepts and definitions should be adopted in their collection, careful attention should be paid to the purposes for which the statistics are needed. This may not be so obvious to persons untrained in collecting or using statistics, and for this reason, it is apt to stress, at this stage, that no single definition of the terms—economically active, employed, unemployed, or other terms which are used in labour force statistics—can give statistics that are completely adequate for all possible uses. For example, a user interested in judging the pressure of the unemployed on the labour market may require statistics which include as unemployed, only those persons without a job who are more or less actively looking for work; while a user interested in estimating the maximum supply of additional labour available, might prefer to treat as unemployed all persons who are without a job and would be willing to work if suitable employment were available, even if they have never actively sought a job.

An indication of the extent to which differences in definition may affect the results obtained from a statistical enquiry may be seen from the fact that

while the official U.S. Census Bureau's estimate of unemployment for August, 1949, was 3.689 million, an unofficial estimate for the same period, based on somewhat different definitions, showed the number unemployed to be 5.235 million (1). The statistics were, of course, collected with different purposes in view, and the would-be user of any such statistics must first satisfy himself that the definitions used in their collection are such that the results satisfy his purposes.

The following are the main purposes for which the writer envisages that labour force statistics are required in the British West Indies.

A. To assess the amount of industrial and general economic development required, and to judge the success of any development programmes.

One of the chief uses of statistics on unemployment in the British West Indies will be to provide an assessment of the amount of industrial and general economic development required to raise the amount of employment to any desired level. Indeed, the case for industrialization in these territories arises mainly from the need to provide profitable employment for the relatively large proportion of the population of working age which is unemployed or underemployed, and thereby to improve the general standards of living of the population.

A series of figures on employment and unemployment over a period of years would also aid in indicating the extent to which special measures for economic development have been successful. Such statistics are, of course, not the only information nor even the only information about the economically active population, that must be considered in making the above assessment. For example, Professor Arthur Lewis (3), in deriving his estimate of the number of additional jobs that need to be provided in the British West Indies, has taken account of the low proportion of women gainfully employed, the growth of unproductive jobs, and the need for reducing the number of persons engaged in agriculture.

Nevertheless, statistics on employment and unemployment provide vital basic information for a proper assessment of the economic development required in any country. Since economic development is, and will remain for a long time, so important an issue for the British West Indian territories, labour force statistics therefore should be collected in a form that makes them useful for this purpose.

In a country where general unemployment is fairly high, the most immediate problem will be to provide new jobs to ease chronic unemployment, while the problems of frictional unemployment (i.e. unemployment arising out of labour immobility, short periods of unemployment between jobs, etc.,) seasonal unemployment, underemployment (i.e. arising from part-time work, etc.,) will be, in the immediate future, of only secondary importance for policy purposes. This is probably the case in all British West Indian territories, and so the main purpose of labour statistics should be to show how

many persons are, at any time, both willing and able to work but are completely without jobs.

The definitions used in our surveys should therefore be aimed primarily at separating the population of working age into:

- (a) *those with jobs* which will differ somewhat from those persons actually at work at any given time, since persons with jobs may be on leave, on strike, etc.;
- (b) *those without jobs but who are willing and able to work* (a first measure of the number of additional jobs required to remove chronic unemployment);
- (c) *those without jobs who are not willing and/or able to work* (i.e. persons not in the labour force).

The number of persons in Group (a) will indicate, in a series over a number of years, the extent to which special measures to provide more jobs are successful, while the number of persons in Group (b) will indicate the remaining number of additional jobs still needed at any given time to remove chronic unemployment.

B. To indicate the extent to which employment is keeping pace with the natural increase in the population of working age and increases in the population due to migration.

In devising long-term policies aimed at reducing unemployment in a country, consideration must, of course, be given not only to the number of jobs required for persons unemployed at any given time, but also to the additional number of persons that will join the labour force as the population of working age increases both from natural growth of the population and from net migration.

In general, statistics of employment and unemployment should therefore be in a form which can be used along with annual estimates of the population of working age to throw some light on this problem. In addition, the labour force surveys should themselves provide, if possible, information on the proportion of young persons joining the labour force each year who are unable to find employment.

C. To indicate the types of measures necessary for dealing with seasonal unemployment, and with other forms of underemployment.

Although the problem of easing chronic unemployment will naturally be the primary concern of policy makers, the existence of seasonal unemployment must not be overlooked; and will, no doubt, receive greater attention in the future. Seasonal unemployment exists because some industries (e.g. sugar manufacturing) have wide seasonal variations in the number of persons they employ, and many persons who work in these industries may be unable to obtain alternative employment in the periods when their main industry is shut down.

Information should be sought from persons working in such industries to indicate how important is the problem of seasonal unemployment.

Another form of underemployment exists where persons who are willing and able to work full-time are engaged in part-time work, because they are unable to obtain full-time jobs; information should be sought on this problem.

In addition, where a larger number of persons than is necessary are engaged on a particular task (e.g. a whole family working on a small family farm), or persons are forced into unproductive jobs (e.g. petty trading, domestic services, etc.,) there is evidence of underemployment that should be borne in mind when plans for economic development are being made. It seems unlikely, however, that useful measures of such underemployment can be obtained from small regular sample surveys of the kind proposed, though some indication of the magnitude of the problem will no doubt be derived from these and other employment statistics.

D. To assess the importance of different industries in providing labour and the growth of these industries.

In framing policies for increasing employment opportunities, policy makers will need some indication of the importance of various industries in providing employment. Thus in a country with a high rate of unemployment but with limited capital resources, the favourable industries for solving the unemployment problem will be those which require a relatively small capital outlay, but a relatively large number of employees to produce any given output.

As far as possible, therefore, the proposed surveys should be planned with a view to indicating the importance of our different industries in providing employment, as well as the growth or decline of the various industries in this respect.

The following list of industries or industry-groups will serve the above purposes.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Agriculture, forestry | 6. Commerce |
| 2. Fishing, hunting | 7. Transport, storage and communication |
| 3. Mining and quarrying | 8. Services |
| 4. Manufacturing | |
| 5. Construction, plus electricity, gas, water and sanitary services | |

It is probable, however, that due to the existence of sampling error, information obtained from sample surveys should not be broken down in such detail. If this is the case, it might be necessary to reduce this list and show merely the number of persons employed in (a) agricultural and (b) non-agricultural industries. Information about the separate industries would then have to be obtained by methods other than sample surveys (e.g. by returns from large employers in the important industries.) Detailed analyses by industry could, however, be derived at the time of the complete population censuses.

Another very sound indication of the importance of an industry is the number of persons dependent on it. In such an analysis, we should be concerned in the simplest case, not with the proportion of the working population engaged in agriculture (say); but the proportion of the total population, including children and other non-workers dependent on the industry for a living. This is not dealt with in this paper.

E. To satisfy a miscellany of economic and social needs for information about the activities in which the workers are engaged.

In addition to classification by industry, the most important classifications of labour statistics are those which separate the economically active population according to occupation and occupational status.

(1) Occupation

A classification of the working population by occupation serves many useful purposes. For example, it would indicate whether unemployment is not partly due to overcrowding of certain occupations; in which case, vocational training and advice through the public information offices could be used to encourage persons away from these overcrowded occupations to occupations where there is or is likely to be a greater demand for labour. Again, efficient classifications by occupation are essential where efforts are being made to place workers through employment agencies. In particular, since there is likely to be migration between the British West Indian territories by persons looking for work, such statistics would enable would-be migrants to know beforehand where there is demand for workers in the occupations to which they belong.

The latest recommendations by the International Labour Office (2) for the classification of occupations attempt to group together persons whose occupations are related through theoretical knowledge, trade knowledge, environment, personality requirements and physical requirements. Such a classification of the working population would give useful information about the structure of the economy with some indication of the skills of the working population.

The following major groups recommended by the International Labour Office for occupational classification might be usefully adopted:

- (1) Professional, technical and related workers;
- (2) Managerial, administrative, clerical and related workers;
- (3) Sales workers;
- (4) Farmers, fishermen, hunters, lumbermen and related workers;
- (5) Workers in mine, quarry and related occupations;
- (6) Workers in operating transport occupations;
- (7) Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified;
- (8) Service workers.

Here again, however, sample survey results might not permit of such

detailed breakdowns, and it might be necessary to classify the labour force only into

(a) Administrative, technical and clerical occupations, and

(b) All other occupations.

As with analyses by industry, methods other than sample surveys might have to be adopted for providing information about separate occupations or occupation-groups.

(2) *Occupational status*

"Occupational status" refers to the classification distinguishing employers, employees, workers on own-account, unpaid family workers or similar categories. A classification by occupational status gives valuable information about the organization of economic activities which can be used as a rough index of the degree of economic activity. It gives some indication, also, of the extent of underemployment in the community, since it may be generally accepted that when economic activity slackens, employees who become unemployed will tend to shift to own-account occupations; and thus, the growth in the latter category at the expense of the group of employees, may provide valuable subsidiary statistics for use along with statistics on unemployment.

PART II

CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS RECOMMENDED FOR USE IN LABOUR FORCE STATISTICS

Having set out in some detail the main purposes for which the statistics are needed, we may now consider the concepts and definitions which are most likely to provide statistics satisfactory for these purposes.

A. *Concepts of economic activity*

The economically active population is almost universally defined as "that part of the population which furnishes the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services". It includes employers, own-account workers, and unpaid family workers, as well as employees, and also includes the unemployed as well as persons actually engaged in these types of work at the time of enumeration (4).

B. *Criteria for identifying the economically active*

Most countries which collect labour statistics by census and survey methods, employ one or other of two different concepts of the economically active population, with minor amendments to suit their special needs.

The first and older concept is that of the "gainfully occupied" population as recommended by the League of Nations' Committee of Statistical Experts (1938). This concept is based on the idea that each person has a more or less stable functional role as a worker or a housewife, student, etc., and that this rôle is largely independent of, and more important than, his activity at any given time. Countries whose statistics are based on this concept, there-

fore, include as economically active, all persons of working age whose *usual* or *customary* activities can be classified as producing economic goods and services as set out in Section A above.

The second concept is that of the "labour force" as recommended by the Sixth International Conference on Labour Statistics (1947) convened under the auspices of the International Labour Office. Statistics based on this concept, include in the economically active population all persons above a specified age who are either employed (at work or temporarily absent from the job), or unemployed (without a job and seeking work), at a *specified date* or during a *specified short period* (usually a week), regardless of the usual activities of the respondent.

The number of persons recorded as economically active will, of course, differ with the concept used; since, for example, women whose usual activity is housekeeping but who, at the time of the enquiry, are engaged in an economic activity, will be excluded from the economically active population where the gainful worker concept is used, but included where the labour force concept is adopted. There will be differences too, in classifying persons included among the economically active according to industry, occupation, occupational status, etc., wherever an individual's activity in the census period is not his *usual activity*.

The gainful worker concept has the advantage of requiring only the simplest survey questions and instructions. In addition, these statistics are unlikely to be much influenced by unusual conditions at survey time. This second advantage is of particular importance in areas where the survey data are the only or main source of comprehensive labour statistics, and it is known that major branches of employment are subject to large variations during the year.

An important disadvantage of the gainful worker concept is that the results are not precise, since the statistics will themselves vary a great deal according to how the investigator and/or the respondent interpret the term "usual activity". In particular, the concept is ambiguous when applied to persons who do not have a simple definite occupational role (e.g. seasonal workers who spend part of the year in one role and the remainder in another.)

The statistics for a given industry or activity for a territory may, therefore, vary appreciably from year to year, purely because of such differences in interpretation. For the same reason, it would be dangerous to compare statistics for different territories.

The labour force concept, on the other hand, provides statistics which are precisely defined, but the results might be misleading if the survey was carried out at an atypical time of the year. One possible method of overcoming this difficulty might be to refer to activities during a long interval such as a year; but it would be difficult to get accurate reports of the activities of the people over so long a period of time.

It is extremely important for all the purposes set out in Part I, that what-

ever statistics are collected, should be based on precise definitions, especially in order to make estimates for successive years completely comparable. It is recommended, therefore, that our surveys should be based on the "labour force" concept, (i.e. related to the activity of respondents during a specified week), and that care should be taken to overcome the difficulties set out above which are likely to arise.

For example, since it is known that results derived on this basis are likely to be misleading if a survey is carried out in an atypical period of the year, the timing of these surveys should be carefully considered. The surveys should not be carried out during a period when the number of persons who will be classified as economically active can be expected to be much larger (e.g. at Christmas time), or much smaller than the usual. In particular, the statistics for two years should not be treated as completely comparable if they were taken at different seasons.

C. Usual definitions of employment and unemployment

Since the gainful worker concept relates to the normal activities of the population, definitions of the employed and unemployed segments of the economically active population are not relevant unless these groups are considered as major objects of the enumeration.

Thus some censuses carried out on the gainful worker concept have required no information on employment or unemployment. In cases where such information is required, definitions of these terms must, of course, relate to activities during a specified period.

Whatever definitions are used, however, enumeration based on the gainful worker concept is likely to give results for the unemployed which are difficult to interpret, because of the vagueness of this concept. For example, enumerators may or may not include as economically active, women who are, at the time of the census, engaged on household duties, but who have previously been employed, and would like to return to work.

For these reasons, questions have been asked in some censuses, of persons not at work, about the length of their period of idleness, and about their willingness and ability to work; and these results have been used for deciding whether respondents should be included with or excluded from the economically active population. This information itself assists in making the meaning of the gainful worker concept more precise, but it often results in the need for careful investigation if even approximately accurate results are to be obtained.

For the labour force concept on the other hand, where the economically active group is defined with reference to the activities of individuals during a specified period of time, definitions of employment and unemployment are fundamental; the economically active population being in effect the sum of the employed and unemployed segments.

It might be useful in considering the usual definitions of these terms, to look at the definitions adopted by the United States Bureau of the Census

in its Current Population Surveys for labour force statistics which are carried out each month.

For these surveys, defined as employed within a specified week are persons:

- (a) at work with pay for any length of time, or without pay for fifteen (15) hours or more on a family farm or business;
- (b) with a job, but not at work (i.e. temporarily absent on vacation or sick leave, or due to industrial dispute, bad weather or lay-off for not more than thirty (30) days).

Defined as unemployed are persons:

- (a) who did not work at all during the survey week, but were *looking for work*;
- (b) would have been *looking for work*, but for
 - (i) temporary illness;
 - (ii) expected to return to a job from which laid off for more than thirty (30) days;
 - (iii) believed no work available in their trade or community.

All other persons above the minimum age specified, are considered *not* in the labour force.

These definitions are precise and the results for different areas and different times can therefore be compared with confidence.

Labour force definitions used by other countries and recommended by the International Labour Office are very similar to the above. If the labour force concept were adopted by the British West Indian territories, however, there is no reason why somewhat different definitions should not be used if the above are not completely suitable for the purposes we have in mind.

It might be noted that the simple "gainful worker concept" does not include among the "economically active" persons who have never worked, e.g. persons who have recently left school; while the labour force concept includes such persons, provided they were looking for work during the survey period. Even where the gainful worker concept is used, however, it is usual to collect information about such persons and to show such figures separately.

D. Definitions used for the 1946 West Indian Census of Population

Statistics on the economically active population were collected at the 1946 West Indian Census of Population. The following definitions are reproduced from the Census Report (5).

Economically active. "All persons aged ten (10) years and over have been classified as either gainfully occupied or not gainfully occupied. In the gainfully occupied class were included all persons engaged in an occupation that brought in money (or goods and services in exchange) either to themselves or (if they were unpaid) to their employers or the heads of their families. Home duties, such as cooking, cleaning, carrying fuel and water, nursing and dressmaking, carried on not for money but for the direct benefit of members of a family, were not to constitute a gainful occupation. Subsistence farming, i.e. growing food for own consumption, was, however, counted as a gainful

occupation. Persons temporarily unemployed, persons on holiday and persons temporarily debarred from working by illness, were all to be regarded as gainfully occupied, the only exception being unemployed young persons who were seeking their first job. Persons not gainfully occupied may be divided into school pupils and students, persons seeking a first job, persons engaged in home duties, persons of private means, and persons retired from a gainful occupation; while any remaining, such as dependent children not at school and invalids, may be described as otherwise dependent".

The Census Report does not state specifically whether the above definitions related to the occupation at census date or to the *usual activity* of the respondent, but since the definition appears to have been based on the gainfully occupied concept, it is assumed that *usual activity* should be understood.

The census defined unemployment in relation to wage-earners only, these being persons normally in paid employment who were not working on the day preceding the census, not including persons on leave with pay or on sick leave, or those who did not work because it was their normal day of rest. Any person who worked as a "jobber" on a contract basis would not be described as unemployed even if he were not working at the time of the census.

Information on the duration of unemployment was also sought in respect of persons unemployed.

E. Recommended definitions of employment and unemployment

It has been pointed out in Part I of this Note, how statistics of employment and unemployment might vary appreciably according to the definitions of these terms that are adopted. It has also been argued that no single definition of these terms will provide statistics that are suitable for all users or purposes. Nevertheless, since the terms "employed" and "unemployed" are in common use, and the problems of employment and unemployment are of such general interest, it is likely that any such official statistics will be used by a large number of persons and organizations, many of whom are likely to ignore the fact that the definitions adopted for the surveys do not coincide with their own concepts, and may not be directly relevant to any particular use they may have in mind, or conclusions they may draw.

It is recommended, therefore, that the terms "employment" and "unemployment" should be avoided, and that, as far as possible, the Canadian practice be followed of publishing separate figures for well-defined groups. The following groups should satisfy our needs:

- (i) number of persons with jobs who worked for thirty-three (33) hours or more in the survey week;
- (ii) number of persons with jobs who worked for sixteen (16) hours and less than thirty-three (33) hours in the survey week;
- (iii) number of persons with jobs who worked for sixteen (16) hours or less;

- (iv) number of persons without jobs who were seeking work in the survey week, etc.

The main advantages of publishing the results in this form would be that

- (a) The terms "employed" and "unemployed" which might lead to misunderstanding on the part of users would be avoided, and would be replaced by precisely defined classifications of the population of working age; and
- (b) The various components could be added together to give estimates of the numbers "employed" or "unemployed" which are suitable for any given purpose.

We may now consider more carefully, what classifications of the population of working age are to be used, and how each such group is to be defined to be most suitable for the purposes we have in mind. It was stated in Section A of Part I, that for assessing the economic development required to remove chronic unemployment (considered here as being the main purpose of labour statistics) the most suitable general classification of the population of working age appears to be the following:

- (a) persons with jobs;
- (b) persons without jobs but who are willing and able to work; and
- (c) persons without jobs who are not willing and/or able to work.

The recommended definitions and sub-divisions of the above broad categories are given below.

I. Persons with jobs

Classified as "with jobs" should be

- (i) All persons who worked with pay for any length of time during the survey week.

- (ii) Persons with jobs but not at work (i.e. persons temporarily absent from their jobs because of vacation, illness, industrial dispute, a lay-off with instructions to return to work within thirty (30) days, etc.)

- (iii) Persons who worked without pay for seventeen (17) hours or more on a family farm or business or as an apprentice.

While it would be simple to identify persons who work with pay, it will be necessary to give some instructions on what unpaid activities are to be treated as "work" for our purposes. In particular, housekeeping and other work around the house must be excluded. Also excluded, should be any work done in a family garden, workshop or the like if the commodities produced or the service rendered are for direct family use and not for sale.

Nevertheless, the definition above is a simple one, and it should not be difficult to obtain reasonably accurate estimates for this group. This definition, like any other, however, will provide results that are misleading unless certain points are borne in mind when the statistics are being used. For example, persons who worked with pay for only a day, or a part of a day during the survey week, will be shown as having jobs. Moreover, where an individual worked in a job for the first part of the week and left, or was dismissed and

replaced by another who worked for the latter part of the week, both will be correctly shown as being "with jobs". The number of jobs in the community in which people are at work will, for these reasons, be over estimated if taken to be the same as the number of "persons with jobs". A further point is that some proportion of the number of persons with jobs are likely to be temporarily away from work on vacation or sick leave, etc., and their posts might be filled in the meanwhile by persons who will be without jobs when the former return; both groups will be included as being with jobs".^a While it is necessary that these and similar points be borne in mind when the statistics are being used, it would be impossible to try to collect and publish statistics from these surveys which would allow for all these contingencies.

The three categories of persons listed above may be grouped together to give a single statistic of "the number of persons with jobs", but for some of the purposes mentioned in Part I, such a statistic will not be adequate. Thus, for a study of seasonal unemployment, an annual figure showing the number of persons with jobs in a particular week will be useless. It is recommended, therefore, that a subsidiary question be asked of each person of working age covered in the survey, whether during the past year he worked for any length of time in an occupation of a seasonal nature (e.g. in a sugar-factory) to which he expects to return. If he has, additional information should be obtained on the length of time he was engaged in this occupation during the past twelve-month period (for annual surveys) and whether or not he had a job in the remaining period of the year. Analyses of this information should provide useful data for a study of the incidence of seasonal unemployment, and on this group of workers generally.

Underemployment (i.e. part-time work) is another problem on which a figure showing "the number of persons with jobs" will throw no light. If, however, the figure is broken down (say) into persons who worked with pay for sixteen (16) hours or less in the survey week, and those who worked with pay for seventeen (17) hours and less than thirty-three (33) hours, etc., (with a similar breakdown according to the number of hours usually worked for persons temporarily away from work), the figures would be quite useful for this study. Some proportion of the persons who work part-time will, no doubt, be unwilling to work full-time even if full-time jobs were available, and so the whole of this group should not be considered as underemployed. It might be useful to enquire from all part-time workers interviewed whether or not they would prefer full-time employment. Such information would give

^aA group of persons who will swell the number with jobs, and who, it might with some justification be argued should be omitted, are housewives, and others who obtain irregular remuneration from dressmaking, hair-dressing and other similar activities, while their main activity is not economic. Any attempt to omit such persons from the labour force, will, however, lead to much difficulty in classifying many border-line cases. These persons should therefore be included among persons with jobs and consideration may be given in the future to classifying persons according to both their primary and secondary activities.

at least an approximation to the proportion of part-time workers who should be considered truly underemployed.

Finally, since a large proportion of persons who work without pay for more than sixteen hours in a week, no doubt do so only because suitable paid employment is not obtainable, it is suggested that this group of persons should be shown separately in the results. Persons who worked without pay for less than sixteen hours in the survey week should not be included with persons having jobs.

To summarize, statistics should be published showing separately

- (i) the number of persons who worked with pay for 33 hours or more;
- (ii) the number of persons who worked with pay for more than 16 hours and less than 33 hours;
- (iii) the number of persons who worked with pay for 16 hours and less;
- (iv) the number of persons who worked without pay for more than 16 hours;
- (v) the number of persons with jobs but not at work.

In addition, separate analyses should be made showing the number of persons engaged during the past year in seasonal occupations and their activities during the period when they were not engaged in the seasonal occupation.

II. *Persons without jobs who are willing and able to work*

A series of figures over a number of years showing the number of persons with jobs as defined in I above, will be extremely useful in indicating the trend of employment, and in providing a measure of the extent to which special measures to relieve chronic unemployment (as well as underemployment and seasonal unemployment) are succeeding. The most important single statistic for the assessment of the amount of industrial and general economic development required in the country will, however, be estimates of the number of persons without jobs who are both willing and able to work.

The criterion "willing and able to work" which is used by the United States, Bureau of Statistics in identifying the unemployed, is not the only criterion that could be adopted, but it appears suitable for the purposes we have in mind. It is important to remember, however, that the number of persons "willing and able to work" will vary from time to time purely because of changes in the general level of economic activity. Thus, during the last war when the United States bases were operating on a large scale in Trinidad, many persons (especially women and retired workers) who were not previously willing to work, entered the labour market. Now that the level of economic activity has declined, many of these persons have again withdrawn from the economically active. It would be misleading, therefore, in attempting to assess the number of additional jobs required, to consider, as needing jobs, only those persons who are willing and able to work at any given time (particularly a time when the level of economic activity is low), since any programme to provide jobs for these persons will itself create a demand for jobs from persons not previously in the labour market.

While the number of persons willing and able to work at any given time may be taken as the lower limit of the number of additional jobs required, policy makers will require also some indication of the total number of jobs needed to satisfy the demand for jobs from those persons who will enter the labour market when economic activity increases; i.e. as an upper limit of the total labour force in a time of full employment. What particular level of economic activity is to be accepted as satisfactory is, of course, a matter for the policy makers, but statistics should be available on which they could make their assessments.

It would be impracticable, however, to derive by survey methods, forecasts of how large would be the labour force under any conditions other than those existing at the time of the survey. These surveys should therefore be restricted to providing estimates of the number of persons "willing and able to work" at the time of enumeration. Other considerations, such as those taken into account by Prof. Arthur Lewis (See Page 3) must however, also be borne in mind when the size of any proposed development programme is being determined. In addition, the statistics of other countries (e.g. in the United Kingdom) would give a useful indication of the proportion of persons of working age who are likely to be in the labour force at a time of full employment.

Although we may use the criterion "willing and able to work" as a starting point, it is not precise enough for use in classifying persons of working age since, in many cases, this classification would be dependent on the interpretation and attitude of the enumerator and the respondent. In accordance with the "labour force" concept, this intangible criterion must be replaced by some classification based upon the actual activity of each respondent within a specified short period. It is recommended that the following persons should be taken as "willing and able to work":

- (i) persons without jobs who were looking for work during the survey week; or
- (ii) would have been looking for work except for temporary illness, or because they knew of no suitable vacancies.

In the absence of any well organized labour market in most British West Indian territories, the number of persons wanting work but knowing of no suitable vacancies is likely to be large. Unfortunately, however, the criterion for classifying such persons as "willing and able to work" must largely be the respondent's own opinion, and not, as in other cases, some specific activity during a given period. Great care would be necessary to ensure that only persons who would really have looked for work are included. It might be wise to include such persons as "willing and able to work" only if they had actually looked for work within (say) the past three months.

III. Persons without jobs who are not willing and/or able to work

This group should include all persons of working age who are not classified

in either of the preceding groups. It is recommended that persons fifteen (15) years and over should be considered of working age.

Priorities

Since the criteria to be used in classifying an individual are to be his economic activities during a specified week, it is possible for any given individual to qualify for inclusion in more than one category. For example, an individual who worked for three (3) days in the week, and was out of work and looking for a job for the remainder of the week, could be classified as both "with a job" and "looking for work".

While, for some purposes, it may be desirable to classify such persons both by their primary and secondary activities, in general it is both simpler and more meaningful to derive statistics based on a single classification of each individual. For this reason, it is necessary to set out a number of priorities for use in classifying persons with more than one activity.

To a large extent, these priorities are inherent in the criteria set out above, but they are repeated here:

- (a) The activity "At Work" should take priority over all other activities, so that an individual who has worked for even part of a day in the week is classified with the persons "With Jobs". There is, however, the proviso that persons who worked "Without Pay" should not be classified as "At Work" if they worked for sixteen (16) hours or less in the week.
- (b) "With a Job but Not at Work" should take priority over all other activities except "At Work". In the United States and Canadian surveys, persons who have a job but did not work during the week, and who also looked for work are classified as "Looked for Work". There appears to be no justification for thus increasing the number of persons seeking work in the West Indies.
- (c) The final economic activity, "Looking for Work", should take priority over all non-economic activities, such as "Keeping House", "Went to School", etc.

Recommended analyses

To provide statistics which would satisfy all the purposes set out in Part I, the number of persons "With Jobs", and those "Without Jobs and Willing and Able to Work", should be analysed by industry, occupation and occupational status. (These classifications should relate to the last job held by persons without jobs.)

Statistics obtained from annual sample surveys will, of course, be liable to some sampling error, and it might, therefore, be unrealistic to publish very detailed analyses which include many groups with few persons in each. Although, therefore, I have recommended in Part I, the analysis of the number of persons "With Jobs" into eight industry groups, and eight occupational groups, it might not be possible to obtain estimates with sufficient accuracy to permit such detailed analyses. For example, the eight industry groups

might have to be replaced by a simple classification into agricultural and non-agricultural workers, while many of the occupational groups might have to be combined. This would, of course, mean that the published data are less informative, but accurate data for the important industries and occupations might be obtainable from other sources (e.g. by direct enquiry from large employers) which would supplement the survey data. Also, information obtained from complete enumeration of the population at the decennial censuses will provide many useful detailed classifications which could not be obtained from the sample surveys.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have set out what appear to me to be the more important statistics that might be collected in the British West Indian territories by labour force survey methods. Such surveys may, of course, be planned to provide additional information which might be needed by all or some of the territories; in particular, it should be possible to obtain information on the number of people who derive their livelihood from each type of economic activity, including dependents, as well as workers themselves. Such data will certainly be useful for many studies and can usually be obtained without difficulty as a by-product of labour force censuses and sample surveys.

In connection with the statistics which I suggest should be collected, I have recommended the concepts and definitions which appear to me likely to yield the most reliable and useful data. The object of this paper has not been, however, to propose a set of concepts and definitions which are ideal for any or all of the British West Indian territories; but rather to draw attention to the need for labour force statistics, and to indicate the types of decisions that would have to be made if and when a programme for collecting such statistics is embarked upon.

The recommendations above, therefore, might be a useful starting point in considering the definitions that should be adopted for such a programme; but no more than this. Indeed, if labour force surveys are undertaken in the near future in all British West Indian territories, as is to be hoped, it is very likely that definitions different in many respects from those recommended here will be adopted.

Whatever definitions are used, it will be important that statistics for successive periods should be comparable; and for this reason, there might be understandable reluctance to change these definitions even if they appear somewhat inadequate. On the other hand, a great deal of information is sure to come to light as a result of the censuses and surveys themselves, which would indicate that more useful and more accurate statistics could be obtained if the definitions were amended. It might therefore be advantageous to forego the ideal of complete comparability for some years, and to experiment from year to year with slightly different definitions, with a view to obtaining the definitions and procedure most satisfactory for the purposes in mind.

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Symposium on the Hicks Report^a

AS IT was believed that the publication of a number of opinions on this report would be a valuable addition to an understanding of the problems involved, several well-known economists were approached and have contributed papers which appear below.

Professor Richard Goode is a member of the staff of the International Monetary Fund (Research Department).

Mr. Arthur Hazlewood is Tutor in Economics at the Institute of Colonial Studies at Oxford University. He contributed a paper last year to *Social and Economic Studies* entitled "Colonial Monetary Arrangements".

Mr. A. D. Knox is Lecturer in Economics at the London School of Economics, University of London.

Mr. Alfred P. Thorne is a visiting Professor in Economics at the University of Puerto Rico, and was previously on the Research Staff of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, U.C.W.I.

Mr. G. D. N. Worswick is Lecturer and Tutor in Economics at Oxford University.

TAXATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN JAMAICA

By

RICHARD GOODE^b

The *Report on Finance and Taxation in Jamaica* by Professor J. R. Hicks and Mrs. Ursula K. Hicks (3) arose out of a request to the authors to "survey the existing system of Government finance in Jamaica . . . and to make such recommendations as would enable the Government of Jamaica to make the most efficient use of the sources of revenue on which it can draw." The distinguished authors have produced a report which is admirable for broadness of conception, pithiness of statement, and wisdom of specific recommendations. The document appears to be well suited to the needs of the Government, and it will also be of interest to all students of public finance who are especially concerned with the problems of economic development.

Since I have no first-hand acquaintance with Jamaican conditions, I shall direct my comments primarily to three subjects of general interest and applicability: (1) the taxation of business profits in general, (2) taxation of an extractive industry exporting its whole output (in Jamaica, bauxite), and (3) taxation of land and improvements. The first and third topics are important in all underdeveloped areas, and the second arises in many primary-

^a*Report on Finance and Taxation in Jamaica*, by J. R. and U. K. Hicks.

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Opinions expressed are his own and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the Fund.

producing countries. The Jamaican situation is conditioned by the special importance of external investment, which is facilitated by the island's status as a British colony and its proximity to the United States, and by certain characteristics of the bauxite-aluminum industry; but these conditions are by no means unique.

In selecting three phases of taxation for further discussion, I neglect several other sections of the report, for example, the survey of the economic background in which the authors make good use of foreign trade figures as a substitute for national income and production statistics; the appraisal of customs duties and excise taxes, which are now the principal sources of revenue but which involve the question of how protection for domestic industry and revenue-raising can best be reconciled; recommendations concerning administrative control of expenditures and the form of the budget; and the examination of the relation between central and local finance. Except for some reservations with respect to the proposal that the public accounts be divided into a current budget and an investment (capital) budget,^a I consider all of these sections very helpful.

Taxation of Business Profits

Following the British model, Jamaica imposes a graduated tax on individual income and a flat rate tax on company (corporation) profits, with stockholders receiving full credit against their individual tax liabilities for company tax on distributed profits. Since, however, many stockholders in companies formed in Jamaica or doing business there are not residents of the island, the integration of the company and individual taxes is less significant than it would be in a country in which external investment is less important. As regards reinvested profits and profits distributed to non-resident shareholders, the Jamaican system is equivalent to a separate tax on the business entity, such as is in effect in a number of countries. For local investors, of course, the credit for company tax is advantageous and may help avoid a tax deterrent to conducting business in the limited-liability form. On the other hand, a system such as that used in Jamaica may give some inducement to the distribution, rather than reinvestment, of profits of any companies that may be controlled by stockholders subject to marginal tax rates lower than the company tax rate. Such an inducement would not be altogether desirable in a country attempting to encourage capital accumulation.

Professor and Mrs. Hicks clearly show that a government situated like that of Jamaica has only a limited range of choice in selecting its rate of tax on profits, unless it is prepared to sacrifice revenue unnecessarily or to risk discouraging investment from abroad. The United Kingdom and the United States (and Canada as well) allow a credit against their taxes for income

^aThe capital-current breakdown seems to me to be less useful for budgetary than for social accounting purposes. Furthermore, the dual budget may encourage government borrowing from the banking system with inflationary consequences—a tendency already in existence in many underdeveloped countries although not an immediate threat in Jamaica in view of the absence of a central bank or other discretionary monetary authority. See (1).

tax paid in Jamaica. This credit applies to the tax on the whole Jamaican income of branches of U.K. or U.S. companies operating in Jamaica and to the tax on the distributed profits of Jamaican subsidiaries of U.K. or U.S. parent companies. So long as the Jamaican tax rate is no higher than the U.K. or U.S. rate, the Jamaican tax is fully offset by the tax credit granted by the capital-exporting countries and the total tax is the same as it would be if Jamaica levied no income tax. If the Jamaican rate is higher than the U.K. or U.S. rate, the Jamaican tax alone will apply.

The tax on company profits was 52 per cent in both the United Kingdom and the United States when the Hicks report was prepared (November, 1954). In the United States, however, "Western Hemisphere trade corporations", which no doubt include some but not all American firms doing business in Jamaica, enjoyed a preferential tax rate of 38 per cent. Because of treaty obligations Jamaica cannot apply different tax rates to U.K. and U.S. companies. It therefore had a strong inducement to select a rate of between 38 per cent and 52 per cent. If it set the rate lower than 38 per cent it would merely give revenue to the United Kingdom and the United States; if it set the rate higher than 52 per cent it might discourage investment from both the United Kingdom and the United States. Jamaica had set its tax rate toward the lower end of the indicated range—at 40 per cent.

Although the U.K. and U.S. arrangements restrict to some extent the freedom of action of Jamaica and other capital-importing countries, they do not appear to constitute a serious obstacle to development. The principal objection to them from the point of view of the underdeveloped countries is that they prevent these countries from attracting capital by offering low income tax rates on tax exemption. (The effectiveness of Jamaican provisions for liberal depreciation allowances, for example, is probably reduced). But the underdeveloped countries are freed from the temptation to compete with each other in granting concessions. The system minimizes differences in income tax and allows other influences to determine the flow of capital.

Jamaica, like other members of the British Commonwealth, seems to employ mainly the reducing-balance method of computing depreciation allowances for income tax purposes*. Professor and Mrs. Hicks consider this method simpler to administer than straight-line depreciation on the grounds that under the latter method supervision is necessary to prevent allowances from being taken on fully depreciated assets. This appraisal is strange to a person accustomed to the straight-line method, which in the United States is ordinarily regarded as the simplest of all methods. A more important difference is the speed of write-off. The reducing-balance method does not allow an asset to be wholly written off unless it is discarded or sold and a final allowance is made at that time. But the reducing-balance method does grant relatively large allowances

*Under the reducing-balance method, annual allowances are a constant fraction of the written-down value of the asset (hence a diminishing fraction of original cost). Under the straight-line method, annual allowances are a constant fraction of original cost less estimated salvage value if any.

during the early years of life, and this is a distinct advantage if the investor in making his plans subjects future income to a discount for interest and risk. Of course, it will be necessary to permit a higher percentage write-off each year under the reducing-balance method than under the straight-line method if the asset is to be written down to a figure close to usual scrap value at the end of its normal useful life. This is the practice in the United Kingdom and presumably also in Jamaica.

The Jamaican law provides for initial depreciation allowances which were apparently intended to be similar to those granted in the United Kingdom up to 1954. In the United Kingdom these allowances consisted of an additional depreciation deduction in the first year but total allowances were limited to the cost of the asset. The initial allowances thus resulted in a speeding up of deductions and a postponement of tax but in principle involved no reduction in ultimate tax liability. In Jamaica, however, the administrative authorities permitted the initial allowance to be taken in *addition* to ordinary depreciation allowances (that is, they did not require the book value of the asset, which serves as the basis for normal allowances under the reducing balance method, to be written down by the amount of the initial allowance). This decision permitted aggregate deductions in excess of original cost and thus had the effect of transforming an accelerated depreciation scheme into a device for fully exempting from tax over the life of an investment an amount of profits equal to a stated percentage of the original capital outlay. It also meant that the administrative authorities of Jamaica put into effect a few years earlier the scheme that the U.K. Government introduced in 1954, when it replaced the initial allowances with an investment allowance operating exactly as the Jamaican allowances do.

One can certainly agree with Professor and Mrs. Hicks that such a far-reaching decision about the operation of the tax law should not have been made by the administrative authorities on their responsibility. The interpretation adopted will involve a substantial revenue loss over time. Professor and Mrs. Hicks, however, neglect to point out that even a strict construction of the law would have involved a significant, although smaller, revenue loss.^a They apparently consider the investment allowance less appropriate in Jamaica than in the United Kingdom because Jamaica must import most of its capital goods whereas in the United Kingdom the allowance was intended especially to encourage industries producing capital goods. This point, however, does not seem very powerful. An investment allowance will reduce possible tax deterrents to investments of all kinds, and Jamaica may be able to stimulate consumer-goods industries by a device that happens to have been considered especially desirable for the capital-goods industry in the United Kingdom.

^aAccelerated depreciation merely postpones the tax on profits from any particular investment, but the state does not recover the tax collections foregone in the years immediately after introduction of accelerated depreciation because by the time the first group of eligible assets has been written off new assets will be receiving accelerated deductions. On this point and the incentive effects of accelerated depreciation, see (2).

As a special encouragement to new industries, Jamaica allows a 'pioneer' firm to deduct from taxable profits in each of any five of the first eight years of operation an amount equal to one-fifth of its "permitted capital expenditure." (The authors of the report do not give the precise definition of a 'pioneer' firm; apparently "permitted capital expenditure" is investment in fixed assets). The nature of the deduction is not clearly specified in the statute. There is some indication that it was intended as a form of accelerated depreciation, but like the general initial allowance it has in practice been construed as an exemption, and firms have been allowed to take both the special deduction and normal depreciation allowances. Dividends distributed from profits exempted from company tax by virtue of the special deduction are also exempted from individual income tax and surtax.

Professor and Mrs. Hicks consider the Jamaican approach superior to the 'tax holidays' that have been adopted in other parts of the West Indies because the concession can be more precisely defined. As explained above, however, Jamaica unfortunately adopted a vague statute that did not take full advantage of the precision attainable under its method. The Jamaican plan nevertheless has the advantage that the value of the tax exemption is related to the size of investment and full exemption is not extended to firms earning very high rates of return.

If an income tax exemption is to be granted for the purpose of encouraging development, the method of deductions related to capital investment seems to be the most desirable. The question may be raised, however, whether it is really expedient to grant an outright exemption, even in this limited form. Accelerated depreciation has much merit as an alternative to outright exemption. Accelerated depreciation can substantially reduce the risk that the income tax will prevent full recovery of invested capital or deprive a rapidly growing firm of needed working capital. A growing firm which continues to invest in new plant and equipment can obtain a tax postponement of indefinite duration, which is virtually equivalent to a partial tax exemption (and in some cases, to full exemption). On the other hand, a firm that makes only one investment will receive what amounts to an interest-free loan that will have to be repaid if profits are still being earned after its assets have been fully written off under the accelerated depreciation plan. The admittedly milder stimulus involved in accelerated depreciation can justifiably be extended to a wide range of firms, thus minimizing the difficult problem which must be faced under an exemption plan of selecting the firms and industries to be benefited.^a

Whether the concession consists of tax exemption in the form of deductions related to the amount invested or of accelerated depreciation, a strong case can be made for extending it to both new and old firms instead of attempting

^aThe argument that many of the beneficial effects of a 'tax holiday' can be obtained through investment allowances or accelerated depreciation may imply that business men are more rational than they in fact are. Although I believe that investors can be expected to appreciate the significance of the schemes—simply because, as Professor and Mrs. Hicks put it, "business men must be assumed to be capable of doing business arithmetic"—there is evidence that the 'tax holiday' has great psychological appeal. See (4, 5).

to restrict it to new firms as several countries do. The broader approach avoids the administrative problem of defining a genuinely new firm and helps preserve equity of treatment. It has the economic advantage of making the best use of the limited supply of entrepreneurial and managerial talent that is available in most underdeveloped countries. In these conditions old firms will often employ capital more efficiently than will new firms.

A government contemplating either tax exemption or accelerated depreciation should bear in mind several points. First, any plan that is attractive to investors will almost certainly cost the government an appreciable amount of revenue. This applies to accelerated depreciation as well as to outright exemption. Second, an income tax concession may be less effective than reduction of other taxes. The income tax is often less burdensome to an expanding firm than excise taxes, customs duties, land taxes, and other levies. This is especially likely to be true of foreign-owned firms in view of the way the tax credits of some of the principal capital-exporting countries operate. Third, all that can be done by tax concessions is to eliminate tax deterrents to investment. The simple step of re-writing the tax law is not enough to assure an environment conducive to investment and development. Fourth, it is extremely important to decide precisely what is to be attempted and to draft the law and regulations with great care, obtaining expert technical advice at both the planning and drafting stages.

Taxation of Extractive Industry (Bauxite)

Compared with other Jamaican industries, bauxite mining is capital intensive; it is concentrated in the hands of three overseas companies and produces solely for export. Two of the three companies merely extract the ore in Jamaica and ship it to the United States for reduction to alumina, but the third company, a subsidiary of a Canadian firm, reduces the ore in Jamaica. No smelting occurs in the island, and there is little hope of establishing this stage of production there owing to lack of abundant, cheap electric power.

Jamaica cannot reasonably expect bauxite mining to be a major source of employment. Some additional employment would be provided if the two U.S.-owned companies reduced the ore in Jamaica, but the total would still not be impressive. As Professor and Mrs. Hicks point out, the chief advantage that can be obtained from the industry is a contribution to government revenue. An important problem is to devise a system that will maximize the revenue obtainable over time. The optimum system is unlikely to be either that which is liberal enough to allow the greatest possible volume of production or that which imposes the highest possible rate in relation to value of output. The form of taxation as well as its total weight is significant. Jamaica's problem is similar in many respects to that of several other countries producing petroleum, non-ferrous metals, or other minerals.

At the present time Jamaica imposes three principal taxes on bauxite producers: (i) royalty, (ii) income tax, and (iii) land tax. The royalty is 10d. per

ton on producers who convert their ore in Jamaica and 1/- per ton on other producers. This differential may have been a factor in inducing the Canadian company to carry out processing in Jamaica, but shipping costs and technical considerations were probably much more important. Given the present U.S. tariff structure, which imposes a duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ cent per lb. on refined bauxite and exempts crude bauxite,^a it seems quite unlikely that the U.S. companies will be induced by the small difference in royalty to begin refining in Jamaica.

The Canadian company is subject to the ordinary income tax, but the two U.S. companies pay in lieu of the regular income tax what amounts to an additional royalty. This arrangement is embodied in an agreement running for 25 years which provides that for tax purposes the profits of these companies shall be assumed to be 60 cents per ton. At the present Jamaican tax rate, the 'income' tax is 1/8d per ton; together with royalty the total tax on production is 2/8d per ton. The contractual substitute for the income tax was presumably adopted mainly in order to obviate the necessity of attempting to estimate profits allocable to Jamaican operations. Such allocation is never easy; it would be especially difficult in this case because the raw bauxite is not a uniform commodity and is not sold on the open market. It was no doubt necessary to work out some agreement to allocate profits on a more or less arbitrary basis, but the setting of a fixed profit figure per ton for a 25 year period suggests a confidence in the stability of prices that is hardly justified by past experience.

Although the Government cannot unilaterally revise the 25 year agreement on the income tax, it can, as Professor and Mrs. Hicks observe, raise the royalty if it feels that the companies got too good a bargain on the income tax agreement. If this should be done, consideration might be given to linking the amount of the royalty with market prices of aluminum ingots or of alumina if satisfactory quotations can be obtained for the latter. Such an arrangement would provide an element of flexibility that has been found desirable by many countries imposing production or export taxes on primary products. Some caution is advisable, however, in setting the total royalty-income tax in order to avoid excessive discouragement to production in Jamaica. A production tax, unlike a tax on net profits, forms a part of prime costs and directly enters into the calculation of the point to which production can advantageously be carried with existing fixed capital. If Jamaican taxes on production should become too high, the companies might attempt to shift production to other areas.

Inasmuch as the bauxite producers are large landowners, the application of the regular land tax to their holdings is a matter of some importance. The land tax in recent years has become progressive in rate, and the tax paid by the companies has been increased. Although progressive rates for land tax are somewhat questionable, the continued application of an annual land tax to the companies' holdings seems to be justified. A tax of this kind has the

^aThe U.S. statutory duty on crude bauxite is 50 cents per ton, but it has been suspended for two years from July 1954.

advantage of not discouraging production; indeed, the imposition of a carrying charge gives the companies an additional incentive to exploit their holdings.

Land Tax

In Jamaica the land tax is an annual levy on the capital value of land and buildings. It is the principal source of revenue of local governments. As in many other countries, assessed values have become badly out of date during the period of war and post-war inflation, and many inequities in valuation have arisen. In order to obtain more revenue to meet rising government costs, the local units have adopted progressive rate scales instead of merely raising rates applicable to all properties.

Clearly, the land tax is not functioning satisfactorily at present. Professor and Mrs. Hicks suggest that it be rehabilitated and continued as a major source of local revenue. Their recommendations on this subject impress me as very sound and worthy of study by other underdeveloped countries. The land tax, although often neglected, could advantageously be cultivated more fully in many of these countries.

The first recommendation is that a complete reassessment of property values be undertaken and that general revaluations be carried out in future at fairly frequent intervals. A second recommendation is that the progressive rate schedules be abandoned. Income taxes and death duties, being more comprehensive in coverage, are much better adapted to progressive taxation, which has as one of its purposes reduction of inequalities in wealth and income. Parenthetically it may be stated that there is no indication that in Jamaica the progressive rates of land tax were instituted with a view to breaking up large holdings, an objective which may justify progressivity in some countries. If it is felt that a proportionate tax would impose too heavy a burden on small holders, special allowances could be granted to relieve them. In order to minimize the deterrent effect of the tax on construction, it is recommended that a temporary deduction from full value be allowed for certain improvements. Luxury housing and other types of construction that the Government does not wish to encourage would not be eligible for the concession. This approach is considered superior to an attempt to transform the land tax into a tax on unimproved value along the lines that have been discussed in Jamaica.

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THE HICKS REPORT ON FINANCE AND TAXATION
IN JAMAICA: A COMMENT

By

ARTHUR HAZLEWOOD

The report by Professor and Mrs. Hicks on finance and taxation in Jamaica is of the quality to be expected from its authors. Its lucidity and readability are particularly to be praised, when one recalls what heavy going such reports can be. And anyone who has tried to work with colonial statistics will appreciate the skill lying behind the deceptive ease with which the statistical material is marshalled.

Comment by one who has no intimate knowledge of Jamaica can do no more than draw attention to parts of the report which seem of general interest, having a wider application than to Jamaica alone.

The report opens with an analysis of Jamaica's recent economic history, which the authors thought necessary as a background to their more strictly fiscal studies. That no published survey of economic changes over the last few years existed is worth a mention, particularly in view of the recent visit of a full-scale Mission from the International Bank. One would wish to echo the plea of the authors for regular economic surveys, prepared either by the Government or by the University College, and to hope that it is heard not only in Jamaica. After all, there is a precedent, for the Gold Coast has for several years now been producing its annual Economic Survey.

The second point to note is the kind of data on which Professor and Mrs. Hicks' economic survey is based. Up-to-date national income estimates did not exist, for the estimates compiled by Professor Benham and by Miss Deane related to war and pre-war years, respectively. They therefore had to fall back on what they call "a more old-fashioned line of approach" and to rely mainly on statistics of external trade. "It does, however, happen", the authors declare, "that in the particular circumstances of Jamaica that old-fashioned approach remains very revealing. Though a national income table would be a great assistance in some directions, it may be that the additional things it would tell us are less important than those which can be extracted, after a fashion, without its aid". That an economic survey carried through without benefit of national income estimates could provide the background for a practical exercise in economic advising, has some bearing on recent controversy about the role of national income estimates in the statistical policy of an underdeveloped country. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the existence of the Hicks report adds weight to the arguments of those who doubt if the preparation of elaborate national income studies is the most economic use of scarce statistical skills in many underdeveloped countries.

But, of course, external trade statistics are in themselves inadequate to

provide an outline picture of the economy, and in one respect at least they are downright misleading. The impact on the Jamaican economy of two important recent developments—bauxite and tourism—cannot properly be traced in the trade figures.

In the first place, the valuation of bauxite in the trade returns is a conventional one, because the bauxite is not really sold, but merely transferred from one establishment (within Jamaica) to another establishment (outside Jamaica) of the same overseas firm. Therefore, as the report puts it, "the value which is set upon bauxite exports is something of a token value". Valuation difficulties of this kind are not uncommon. In their volume on *International Trade Statistics* (1) R. G. D. Allen and J. E. Ely refer to petroleum and gold in Venezuela, petroleum, gold and platinum in Colombia, copper and gold in Peru, iodine, iron and nitrate in Chile, and bananas in a number of Central American countries, as being typical examples of "intra-company transfers".

But in any case, the fact that bauxite production is a highly capital-intensive activity, carried on by overseas capital, means that the value of total bauxite exports is not by itself a particularly interesting figure, and is one which can be highly misleading. The impact on the Jamaican economy of bauxite production is measured by the payments made for labour and materials by the bauxite companies together with the taxes they pay to the government. The trade figures cannot yield this information. With tourism the position is much the same, except that no token value even appears in the trade returns.

This points to certain glaring gaps in the statistical data. Professor and Mrs. Hicks emphasize that "the distinction between the gross value of such exports as bauxite and tourism, and the 'expenditure in Jamaica' to which they give rise, is particularly important when we come to assessing the probable consequences of future expansion in bauxite production on the Jamaican economy". But the quantitative data on the subject at their disposal was woefully inadequate. The lesson seems to be—and it is of course of much wider application than to Jamaica alone—that large returns would be obtained from filling in these obvious gaps in the data, and that the sights of statistical policy should be set at making good such deficiencies in our knowledge, rather than at the longer-range target of an elaborate and complete set of social or national income accounts.

Discussion of bauxite and tourism, the two main fields of external enterprise in Jamaica, naturally leads on to a consideration of governmental measures to attract foreign capital and enterprise. We are accustomed, nowadays, for foreign capital to be treated as something of a *deus ex machina* by writers and speakers on the problems of economically underdeveloped countries. One result of this has sometimes been an excessive concentration on measures which encourage, or are thought to encourage, capital inflow, without enough attention being given to the cost of those measures, a cost which must be offset against the expected benefits of the capital investment.

It is refreshing, therefore, to find in the Hicks report due weight being given to the cost, in the form of lost revenue, of various fiscal concessions.

The first point to be made is not a new one, but is one which the report analyses in some detail in its application to Jamaica. The existence of double-taxation agreements give very little scope for attracting foreign capital by income tax concessions. Too high tax rates could certainly act as a deterrent to external capital, but below a critical level tax reductions are no inducement, for tax not paid in Jamaica must be paid elsewhere. Jamaica will merely have thrown revenue away. This situation is to be welcomed, however, not regretted, for the alternative would be a race to attract capital by tax concessions in which all the competing countries would suffer.

It is also worth bearing in mind another point which may be important. In his report on *Industrialisation and the Gold Coast* (3), Professor W. A. Lewis argued that "if a company makes adequate profits it can afford to pay income tax, and if it makes a loss income tax relief is no help. It is more important to do things which enable a company to make a profit, than to grant exemption when a profit is made". On this view, income tax concessions are likely to sacrifice revenue in exchange for a rather doubtful investment incentive.

Professor and Mrs. Hicks would hardly go as far as Professor Lewis, but they clearly believe that fiscal concessions can be too costly. They sympathize with the reluctance to endanger by taxation any further expansion in bauxite and tourism, but they feel that "this reluctance has been carried rather far". On the evidence they present it would be difficult to disagree with this very moderate statement. The "very peculiar arrangement" of a 25 year agreement with the two bauxite exporting companies for tax to be levied on a very modest notional profit, is particularly noteworthy. Hardly less so is the exemption from tax of a long list of consumer goods imports, ranging from billiard tables to crockery and pillows, when they are for the use of hotels. As the report points out, these are just the kind of goods which, in the United Kingdom, are picked out for special purchase tax. It is not surprising that Professor and Mrs. Hicks' conclusion on the bauxite industry is that "the total tax paid by the companies under all heads is too low", and on tourism that "the privileges which have been given to this industry have been such that it can make no more than an indirect and roundabout contribution to Jamaica's finances".

A contribution to the public revenues is not, of course, the sole benefit that enterprises financed from abroad can bring to an economy. The enterprises constitute a demand for both local labour and local products. This demand is of some importance in the case of tourism. Professor and Mrs. Hicks believe that "its function as a provider of employment may be at least as important as its function as a provider of revenue", and the International Bank Mission estimated that "directly and indirectly employment is created for the equivalent of perhaps 12,000 people" (2). The bauxite industry, however, is common with so many extractive industries in underdeveloped countries,

has a capital/labour ratio far above that of the rest of the economy. The employment benefit of the bauxite industry, therefore, can only be relatively small. The Bank Mission pointed out that the industry cannot be expected to employ more than 1,200 people, or little over one-quarter of the employment given during the peak of the construction period. A further possible benefit is the training of labour in skills of various kinds, and it would be interesting to know what contribution of this sort is likely to be made by the bauxite companies.

All in all, it seems unlikely that the benefits yielded by the bauxite and tourist industries are such as to warrant exceptionally tender treatment by the tax collector. No sensible person wants to kill the goose which lays the golden eggs, but there is no reason for failing to collect the eggs when they are laid. This appears to be what has been happening in Jamaica with respect both to bauxite and tourism. One wonders how many other underdeveloped countries are doing the same.

The report's comments and proposals on Jamaica's public accounts are also of more than strictly insular interest. Much of what the report has to say on these matters is worthy of attention outside Jamaica, but mention can be made here of only a few points.

It is not only in Jamaica in recent years that estimates of certain lines of government expenditure have greatly exceeded the amounts actually spent. In Nigeria, for example, a figure of £3.1 m. expenditure on "Public Works Extraordinary" was written into the Estimates for the year 1953-4, whereas actual expenditure in that year amounted to no more than £1.7m. It is easy to sympathize with those responsible, in these days of manpower and materials scarcities, but it is certainly bad budgeting, and one cannot help feeling that Professor and Mrs. Hicks' comment on similar happenings in Jamaica is a fair one: "If these 'economies' proved possible in the course of the year it would seem odd if some at least could not be foreseen — and budgeted for—at the beginning".

In Jamaica, and elsewhere, the operations of government commercial undertakings or trading services, such as the postal service, are not treated separately in the public accounts—gross proceeds are included in the revenue total and gross outlay in the total of expenditure. This helps to confuse the general budgetary situation, and it also tends to conceal the true state of affairs in the commercial, or so-called self-balancing services themselves. It appears that, at any rate in some years, outlay on the Jamaican postal service has been greater than the receipts. Although, in the absence of accounts on a commercial basis, such as are prepared in the United Kingdom, the true financial position of the service is difficult to determine, an excess of expenditure does suggest that it is running at a loss, compared with the heavy contribution to general revenue made by the United Kingdom Post Office. No doubt there are many things which cry out for subsidy in Jamaica, but it is difficult to believe that the postal service has a high claim.

The question of self-balancing services is only one aspect of the general

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problem of reorganizing the public accounts. The need is, in the words of the Hicks report, "to show clearly the basic differences in economic significance of the different types of expenditure and receipts, above all to distinguish current from capital or development account items". The schematic reorganization of the accounts given in the report seems to be a model which, with appropriate modifications, could be widely followed. It is a pity that the authors of the report did not see fit to press their point home by putting Jamaica's accounts for a particular year into the form they propose.

The novel proposal to distinguish in the accounts for a period of years the current expenditure which is incurred as the consequence of new capital works, is particularly interesting. It would high-light the impact on the budget of the annually recurrent costs which inevitably follow from capital expenditure on most types of 'development'. Not that focusing attention on the distinction between capital and current receipts and expenditures is free from danger. A possible pitfall is, I believe, illustrated by recent experience in the Gold Coast. Government reserves which have accumulated as a result of the cocoa boom are, very rightly in a way, being treated as capital receipts—a once-for-all windfall—not to be used for current expenditure. But further capital expenditure on development is inhibited to some extent by the fear that current revenues will be unable to cover the recurrent costs which will pile up. The paradox of the situation is that with many millions of pounds in the reserves, one of the main problems of development appears to be lack of money. There is a danger, then, in taking too purist an attitude to the capital-current distinction. This, however, is a question of the policy conclusions to be drawn from information in the public accounts. It is no argument against having the accounts in a meaningful form.

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NOTE ON PIONEER INDUSTRY LEGISLATION

By

A. D. KNOX

In their recent *Report on Finance and Taxation in Jamaica* (5) Professor and Mrs. Hicks were asked to comment on the form of the Jamaican Pioneer Industries (Encouragement) Law. It is clear from the situation they describe that their careful consideration was sorely needed. What perhaps is also required is some discussion of the part tax legislation of this sort can play in a general policy of economic development. This no doubt lay beyond the Hicks' terms of reference and thus this commentary should be construed as complementary to, rather than critical of, their work.

Special taxation treatment of industries new to a country is by no means a novel practice. It may be fairly said, however, that it has become increasingly popular in recent years, notably in underdeveloped countries. It has become almost standard practice to recommend pioneer concessions as a feature of programmes seeking to stimulate economic growth.^a At the same time opinion on the worth of these concessions is divided. It has been claimed in a recent issue of *Social and Economic Studies* that the generous treatment of the taxation of new companies has been a primary force in the industrial development of Puerto Rico (9). This is a distinct contrast with Professor Lewis's comment that exemption from income tax "is the weakest of all possible attractions."⁽⁸⁾ It is also a contrast with the experience of other countries where few results, and in some cases none at all,^b have flowed from similar legislation.

The general picture is inconclusive. It is all the more so since it can be argued in favour of pioneer concessions that many of these are comparatively new. Puerto Rico admittedly has had some form of special treatment for new firms since 1919, but Jamaica's Pioneer Industries (Encouragement) Law was passed only in 1949 and in a number of countries, including other parts of the British Caribbean, legislation is even more recent. It can also be argued that the problem may be not with pioneer concessions as such but with the actual form of the concessions granted to date. Thus the Ceylon legislation referred to exempts from income tax profits of up to 5 per cent of the capital employed, and initially restricted the concession to only three years from the date of the firm's commencement. It is doubtful whether in so short a period a firm in an industry new to a country can expect to make sufficient profits for a tax concession to be of any value. It would not be illogical to argue that where a concession of this nature has failed the proper course is to make it more liberal. Faced with a similar position in Nigeria the I.B.R.D. Mission (6) took precisely that line. Against all this it is possible to cite the

^aSee, for example, (10) and the reports of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on development programmes for various countries.

^bE.g. Ceylon. See (1).

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conclusion of the Mission of U.K. Industrialists that "since we are of the opinion that continuance and extension of pioneer industries legislation is not likely to be in the best interests of healthy industrial growth, we would urge the Governments concerned to consider seriously the question of granting no further concessions of this type and of substituting in the future, in their stead, concessions available to all industrialists who install new plant and equipment." (11, p.11).

Since so much of the pioneer industry legislation is quite new this diversity of view is not to be wondered at. Nevertheless it is well to ask just what this type of legislation is expected to achieve and how suitable it appears for its objectives. At this early stage in the legislation's life no firm decisions are possible, but it is important to assess it from time to time to see its position in any programme of economic development.

Jamaica's legislation to encourage pioneer industries—and it is a common type—has two principal parts. First, every manufacturer who is declared to be a pioneer is entitled for five years to import free of customs duty and tonnage tax various capital goods "necessary for and used in the construction, alteration and extension of the factory or for equipping the factory or any extension thereof for the manufacture and preparation for sale by the pioneer manufacturers of the relevant pioneer product."^a Second, the manufacturer is able to set against his liability to income tax a portion of his capital outlay in any five of his firm's first eight years. The doubts on the precise nature of this provision were the occasion for the detailed discussion in the Hicks report (5). The reader is, therefore, referred to the report, pp. 85-94, for an explanation of just what the concession means.

The first of these concessions, on tonnage tax and customs duty, need not detain us long. It does no more than help to put manufacturers in Jamaica on a more equal footing with rivals in more advanced manufacturing countries, who can often look to domestic sources for their capital equipment. The purpose of the legislation is sound, but the method raises some questions. It presents the customs authorities not with the task of distinguishing between types of goods but with the much more difficult one of distinguishing between the particular uses to which a machine may be put and of ensuring that it is actually used in a particular way. The Jamaican legislation goes into some detail on ways and means of ensuring that machinery imported to produce a pioneer product in a pioneer factory is used there and for that product. This implies problems of inspection and enforcement irksome to both the manufacturer and to the customs authorities unless, of course, the law is ignored. The extreme case is reached with the law to assist the hotel industry. As the Hicks report points out, consumer goods as well as capital equipment are involved in a special exemption provided they are put to a particular use. "It has naturally been necessary to hedge about the exemption with special provisions to prevent re-sale, provisions the enforce-

^aSchedule to the Pioneer Industries (Encouragement) Law. No. 13 of 1949.

ment of which must be extraordinarily difficult. Even if re-sale can be prevented, a distinction between the radio which a hotel proprietor imports for his own use and that which he imports for the use of his guests seems impossible." (5, p. 103). Special concessions, moreover, have the effect of calling in question the whole equity and efficiency of the taxation system.

The idea of special exemptions for imports used by particular industries is not at all new in West Indian legislation. The pioneer industry laws merely make general provision for the granting of exemptions which previously required *ad hoc* legislation. The administrative problem of distinguishing between 'end-use' is consequently not new. But when the solution to this problem is the simple one of exempting machines and other capital equipment of a particular type regardless of use, one must inquire whether there is some justification for ignoring the solution. One possible argument in defence of the Jamaican practice is that it is consistent with the aim of pioneer industry legislation to diversify the economy, and thus special encouragement is to be given to products new to Jamaica. Now without debating the wisdom of diversification as a means of economic growth, it may be asked whether a good way to diversify an economy is by maintaining restrictions on at least some non-pioneer developments. Economic growth requires the removal of as many restrictions as possible. It is not achieved by holding back some sections of the economy by the imposition of tariffs while hoping that others may respond to what is a temporary removal of restraints. Some other reason must therefore be found to justify this policy of selective relaxation of customs duties. The Jamaican duties on raw materials and capital equipment were considerably reduced in October, 1951, and it may be considered that there is no scope for the loss of revenue resulting from a further general reduction. Professor and Mrs. Hicks found a situation in which the Jamaican Government had committed itself to too heavy a burden of expenditure to permit any reductions in revenue. They argue, moreover, that "a government like the Jamaican is bound to rely upon indirect taxes for a large part of its revenue (since the proportion of the population who can be made to pay income taxes is smaller than in a more developed country such as the United Kingdom." (5, p. 62). The pioneer industry exemptions thus amount to a cheap form of tariff concession. Their justification is not the fostering of economic growth but the exigencies of government revenue. They have to be judged by what small curtailment of government spending would follow the widening of the exemptions to include all capital goods important to Jamaican industry. They may perhaps also be judged by the availability of alternative sources of revenue. Professor and Mrs. Hicks make some suggestions for considering the extension of excise duties or the introduction of purchase taxes in Jamaica. The problem with these, however, is that they do not make for the simplicity in a taxation system so valuable in a small community like Jamaica.

The only matter at issue so far is whether the exemptions from import

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duties in pioneer industry laws go far enough. The really controversial feature is to be found in the income tax concessions and in whether these are a useful device for promoting economic development. They may be said to have three main objectives: (i) to attract capital and enterprise from other countries, (ii) to persuade local capital to venture into industries new to the country, and (iii) to enable pioneer firms to plough back profits more quickly in their early years.

The first appeal of pioneer income tax concessions is to the investor seeking a site for a new plant. Where his production costs between some possible sites differ very little, tax differences can be important in influencing his decision. Thus the rationale behind the pioneer industry legislation is in this respect simple and clear. What is at issue is the possible importance of tax differentials in determining location over a wide range of industries. To begin with, there is the problem that double taxation arrangements mean that lower taxes can have no attraction for the non-resident investor. That, however, does not necessarily make the concessions pointless. There is still the prospect of obtaining some modification in double taxation arrangements, and indeed the Royal Commission on the Taxation of Profits and Income (12) has recommended that "the United Kingdom Government should be authorised by statute to enter into special agreements with other countries for the purpose of making fully effective their 'Pioneer Industries Concessions'." There are also the possibilities that pioneer concessions may attract resident capitalists and not just their capital; and that they may have some influence, as Professor and Mrs. Hicks suggest, in persuading Jamaicans to invest at home rather than abroad. Differences in tax rates have no influence on industries tied to particular markets or to particular raw materials. But studies in industrial location suggest that the great mass of secondary industries are 'foot-loose' in the sense that they have a considerable choice of location. It is to these industries that tax differentials appeal. But the appeal can be effective only where the difference between the non-tax costs at various sites is small. The problem for countries like Jamaica is that possible manufacturing costs are usually more difficult to forecast than in more established industrial countries. This uncertainty can easily outweigh the attractions of lower taxes, even assuming that there are a number of industries where non-tax costs might prove to be much the same in Jamaica as at some other possible location. In addition, it has been argued (4) that "only tax costs differentials which are relatively permanent in character influence local decisions." Pioneer industry concessions do not fall into this category. We are thus left only with the possibility, as Professor Arthur Lewis has argued (7), that tax exemptions may have the psychological effect of making manufacturers more optimistic in assessing prospects. The possibilities that industries can be attracted to a country purely by lower taxes seem very slender. They seem all the more slender when the lower taxes are temporary and when they accrue only to investors who move with their capital. Capital may be the most mobile of factors of production; but there is no evidence that investors are so mobile.

Against all this we have to set some evidence from Puerto Rico where, it is argued (9), investors have been persuaded to settle and establish new firms principally by a very generous system of tax exemptions. It is not clear, however, whether this conclusion has any wide application. In part this is so because Puerto Rico is in the peculiar position among underdeveloped countries of having very intimate links with the extraordinarily dynamic economy of the United States. The movement of industry to Puerto Rico is thus closely akin to that between North and South within the United States. In part also doubts about the application of the conclusion arise from the nature of the evidence. This does not tell us whether Puerto Rico has been fortunate in finding a number of industries with non-tax costs much the same as in the United States and thus susceptible to tax differences, or whether the attraction of these differences has been sufficient to overcome even significant non-tax cost differentials. That, after all, is the relevant question. The data show (9, p. 129) that of the 44 firms in the sample investigated 41 per cent cited lower-cost and/or available labour as the primary inducement to location in Puerto Rico. Here presumably the differences in non-tax costs acted in Puerto Rico's favour. 57 per cent considered tax exemption to be the primary incentive. These are the ones about which it is essential to know how far non-tax cost differentials acted with or against tax differences. Without that information, we cannot assess just how useful are tax differences in attracting investors. Do they finally decide the issue in the minds of investors already favourably disposed or do they convert the complete sceptic? From our previous arguments the former appears more likely; but more data are required. There are, moreover, the other problems Milton Taylor refers to in his article: "Where these firms were considering the island as a location, tax exemption was probably one advantage among several assets and liabilities that were apparent to a prospective investor in Puerto Rico. At the time of the interview, on the other hand, the grantees had a vested interest as beneficiaries of the tax exemption programme. And since the statute exempting these firms terminates in 1962, it is to be expected that the subsidy would be somewhat over-emphasized by the interviewees for purely pragmatic reasons, in the hope that their answers would encourage an extension of the subsidy." (9, p. 129). It is disturbing to note the threat implied in the comments of some firms that unless the exemption is continued beyond 1962 they will close down. This may be bluff. But there is always the danger when pioneer concessions are particularly generous that they will attract the fly-by-night firm which closes down when the concessions end.

It is thus most doubtful how much tax concessions can do by themselves to attract new industries. Would it be easier if the double taxation provisions were changed and the exemptions applied to the non-resident? Professor and Mrs. Hicks have a very pertinent point to make here. A change in these arrangements would find many countries like Jamaica "which would be trying to attract capital to themselves by the offer of concessions; in the

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course of such competition, most of the revenue which they at present derive from the taxation of overseas profits would be lost. And at the end, it is unlikely that any of them would get substantially more capital from overseas than they do at present, though they would (in effect) pay much more for it." (5, p. 74). If, of course, some countries were in these circumstances to grant concessions others would to some extent have to run also to stay in the same place. There is thus much to be said for the present double taxation arrangements even though superficially they appear to hamper the working of pioneer concessions.

The second possible objective of pioneer industry income tax concessions is quite different. It is not to influence the location decisions of entrepreneurs already interested in an industry, but to attract local investors to some industry quite new to the country and to these investors. Since many countries have found pioneer industry concessions of limited value in attracting foreign investors, they have turned their hopes to this second objective. Quite clearly income tax concessions improve the potential net returns from pioneer industries. The value of this concession has been questioned on two grounds. In the first place, the general rate of tax may not be high enough to make it enticing; but we can probably ignore that possible defect so far as Jamaica is concerned. In the second place, the local investor is confronted with a number of problems in pioneering a new industry. He often lacks the necessary technical knowledge. His experience is in agriculture and commerce. He is faced with the problem of markets; and in a small and relatively poor community like Jamaica he may have to seek them abroad where his connexions with outlets for manufactured goods are likely to be few. He is in short uncertain about both his costs and his sales. Tax concessions are of little avail in such a situation. What the investor needs is some assurance and guidance in making a profit and not a concession turning on a profit he may never make. It is thus questionable whether pioneer industry tax exemptions modify the pattern of local investment, except in those marginal cases where the investor is already hesitating just on the brink. It would be surprising if these marginal cases can be many or important relative to what Jamaica requires for her development.

There remains the third argument for these concessions. This is the undisputed fact that lower taxes to new pioneer firms make it easier to plough back profits and thus to establish the firms on a sound footing. The effects of taxation on investment and enterprise make a highly controversial subject. But it is possible to argue with some assurance that high taxes—and Jamaica's personal and corporate rates are high enough for this—hamper the growth of new firms and thus protect the old, and possibly the inefficient, from competition. Where revenue requirements preclude lower rates to all, there is much to be said for special concessions to new firms for at least a period of years. But where does one draw the line? The point is often made that the pioneer's case is a particularly strong one for he very likely faces additional costs springing from the newness of his industry in the country; but are the

same concessions to be granted to other firms following his lead (11)? Subsequent firms possibly do not face the same uncertainties. But having helped one firm by tax concessions, are we to help it further by denying the same treatment to possible rivals? Moreover, it can be argued that "since the concessions cannot be of general application they involve detailed individual negotiation and *ad hoc* arrangements which are more likely to inspire caution than confidence in the mind of an investor." (3). Pioneer income tax concessions, just as those for customs duties, clearly bring with them a number of problems. Moreover, we must remember that economic growth requires some measure of capital formation in a variety of fields and not just in pioneer industries. There is a need to encourage growth in as much of the economy as possible, and very often established firms have the capacity for growth and deserve encouragement. Puerto Rico, for example, applies her 'tax holiday' legislation to a selected list of existing industries which are expanding their productive capacity (2). The argument can be carried further. Even replacement investment makes for industrial efficiency and thus for an environment conducive to further investment. If we bear this in mind, and if, as it appears, the principal case for pioneer concessions is to facilitate the financing of investment, are we not driven to the position that generous depreciation allowances are a superior taxation weapon for encouraging economic growth? (1, 3, 11).

At the moment, we should perhaps not push the argument further than that. In a number of countries pioneer exemptions are quite recent. They may belie these fears; but it would certainly be wise to re-examine them. It would be folly to consider them, or other tax exemptions, as more than a part of a policy for economic development.

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SOME GENERAL COMMENTS ON THE HICKS REPORT

By

ALFRED P. THORNE

The Hicks Report discusses a number of matters with admirable lucidity and offers much sound advice. There is, however, an unfortunate neglect to analyse and probe certain topics of extreme importance; and such is the weight assignable to these that we are obliged to conclude that their omission was not at all accidental. This forces us, therefore, to state in the first place what were the terms of reference of the authors. As quoted in the Preface of the report, the terms of reference were:-

"To report on the existing system of government finance in Jamaica having regard to:-

- (a) social and economic conditions, and
- (b) existing government policy,

and to make such recommendations as may be necessary to enable the Government of Jamaica to make the most efficient use of the sources of revenue on which it can draw."

These are wide terms. They very clearly invite analysis and discussion of the existing Jamaican government financial system and policy against the background of Jamaica's present circumstances and its political, economic and social policy objectives. In so far as these objectives have been made known from time to time, they are fundamentally the same as those aimed at by the leading Western democracies, and summarized in the preamble to the United Nations Charter: "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". It does not seem unreasonable for us to have expected that there would have been assumed for Jamaica the well-known goals of government financial policy that have been accepted by the Western democracies, namely, the promotion of (a) the most efficient possible allocation of resources, (b) economic growth (or development), (c) the mitigation of economic instability and fluctuations and (d) the most appropriate distribution of income, having regard to equity, incentive, productive efficiency and political stability.

It is very difficult to understand why there is no discussion of the issues relating to the use of the fisc in Jamaica for stabilization and counter-cyclical purposes. The possibility of such use is merely mentioned in two or three sentences (paragraphs 215 and 240). Surely the Government of Jamaica cannot with wisdom take over wholesale and unaltered the fiscal tools used in the advanced countries? Or is none of these tools available? If some of the devices can be used, then which ones, and with what probable efficacy? If none can be used, then why not? And what substitutes are available and recommended? It is obvious that monetary policy as an economic stabilizer, often weak even where there is the most favourable institutional framework,

is entirely beyond the reach of Jamaica, where there is not even the semblance of a central banking system, money market, or structure of interest rates. Is the government then to make no change in its budget, whether there be inflation or recession, whilst other countries manipulate their tax and expenditure programmes, and also influence the rates of interest upwards or downwards? The government of a territory like Jamaica faces problems of instability frequently, since about 25 per cent of the gross domestic product is exported. And worse still, the great bulk of the export receipts are derived from but three or four products. Such a government is likely to take much more than academic interest in a discussion of means of minimizing the fluctuations throughout the economy that are generated by export fluctuations.

It is equally unfortunate that the report does not make a frontal approach to the problem of accelerating the rate of economic development by using fiscal policy to increase the rate of domestic saving. That is, tax policy is nowhere discussed on the basis of the income-consumption-saving relationship. One does not have to be 'for' or 'against' this use of fiscal policy to discuss it. To a government like that of Jamaica, which has during the past six years or so devoted increasing attention to economic development, a macro-analysis of this kind would, we feel certain, have been of high value and great guidance, especially coming from such distinguished economists. One has to remember that in places like Jamaica there are no financial or business journals or periodicals where such matters are discussed; and there are usually no mature and experienced economists either in the public administrative and executive service or in the elected bodies politic. The idea that a tax system and tax rates should be reviewed only once in a decade or so is already too strongly embedded in the Caribbean territories. It needs urgently to be pointed out that the budget is one of the most important influences on general economic conditions, as well as one of the most important means of reflecting the needs and aspirations of a democratic community. The annuality of the budgets of the Western democracies recognizes this. And, indeed, the report before us itself recommends that there should be a more nearly complete annuality in Jamaica—that there should be examined every year more (if not all) of the taxes in relation to the objectives for that year. The ideal is that the whole budget, revenues and expenditures, should be voted each year. This is done in England, of course. And amendments are made—supplementary budgets, when economic circumstances require these—before the expiration of the fiscal year. As government and private investment increase in Jamaica, there will be tendencies for inflationary pressures to increase. The importance of 'timing' government outlays to avoid aggravation, and the use of segmentary rather than overall devices, might have been discussed for the information of the government.

In regard to the discussions in the report of particular taxes and tax legislation, there is, of course, a great deal of sound analysis that should be of great assistance to policy makers. For example, the paragraphs on the income

and profits taxes (paragraphs 122-135 and 142-192) should be of much value in judging how these taxes might be improved and extended, even in ways other than those actually recommended, if so desired. Among the points made is the relative severity of the effective rates of tax on family income up to £2,500 per year. Especially harsh is the marginal rate of tax on incomes between £1,200 and £2,000. It is desirable to avoid further increases that would deter the entry of managerial and professional skills needed by Jamaica. Again, the rather large number of 'reduced rate bands' or successive slices of income taxed at different rates, makes for a very smooth effective rate curve, compared with the curve for the United Kingdom. The suggestion is made that the advantage of the steadiness of the rise of effective rate as income increases may be more than offset by the cost of administering the tax with so many bands. The report offers an example of how the number of bands might be reduced without making the curve much less regular, and at a cost in revenue of only about £5,000. We would however suggest that while the proposal is examined it be compared with the possibility of using prepared tax tables, from which the tax or most of it is merely read off. This would avoid the elimination of so many taxpayers from the already small roll of income taxpayers in Jamaica. The longer-run and also the non-economic aspects of a larger income tax roll should also, it appears, be considered.

The rather small family allowances granted under the Jamaican income tax system are recognized, but no recommendation is made for increasing them, on the ground that the population is already large in relation to resources. Perhaps it would be a good thing, however, if parents and guardians were to be given larger allowances in respect of 'children' and wards whom they maintain and who receive a minimum number of hours per week instruction at approved technical, vocational and high schools. This would seem to be appropriate at Jamaica's present stage of economic and social development.

The efficiency of the administration of the income tax is questioned. It is argued that income tax revenue should have increased to a greater extent since 1949, as incomes have undoubtedly expanded. We would caution, however, that one of the reasons why the income tax revenue has expanded less than income is that a substantial part of the income increase in recent years has been in the agricultural sector of the economy, which had declined greatly for a time from 1938. Much of the increase has been in the value of subsistence output—difficult to trace to particular taxpayers in any country. But there have also been higher cash incomes earned by farmers, partly through the development of co-operatives and the payment of higher prices at the farm. Some of the farmers who are outside the income tax net should probably be within it. In view, however, of the large size of rural families and the very low incomes (from which depressed level they are now rising) many would have been non-taxable up to the early 1950's. As regards the others, one should perhaps not expect that the taxable income (after allowances) would be substantial for the majority. However, as incomes continue to rise the number

of farmers brought to tax should not only increase, but should increase at an increasing rate for a period. Finally, in judging the working of the income tax in a territory, one must be careful to remember among other things the high relevance of the standard of literacy that prevails and the extent to which intelligent accounting records are kept by taxpayers and potential taxpayers.

The concessions to business are recognized to be in part responsible for the slow rise in income tax revenue. The report then proceeds to place most of the blame on administrative weakness for what appears to have been over-generous concessions. But it is the law that is at fault. It is the law that allows deductions to be made from income in respect of 'wear and tear,' 'initial allowance' and 'Pioneer Concession' write-off at the same time, in so far as some businesses are concerned.

This is not to say, however, that efforts should not be made to extend the scope and intensity of investigations. It would of course be uneconomical to investigate fully every taxpayer or potential taxpayer whose entire income did not consist of salary or wages. But a recommendation that sampling techniques be applied in the selection of cases for intensive investigation would probably have been appropriate. One would then be in a much better position to generalize about the probable number of taxpayers, and the amount of tax, involved in evasion. This procedure has been of much value in the United States. One cannot altogether be guided advantageously in these matters by what is done, or not done, in the United Kingdom, where people are reputed to have the highest income tax morality in the world. The adoption of the suggested procedure would naturally necessitate more field work and some additional top level staff; nevertheless the investment might be a very good one.

There is another point it seems worth while to mention in connection with income tax administration, and that is the management of the personnel of the Department. This is of high importance in regard to the quality of the actual tax assessment procedures and the consequent yields of tax revenue. It is also important from the point of view of preserving the maximum possible confidentiality. There seems to be far too great a turnover of income tax personnel, and far too many temporary employees in the Department. It is accepted in the United Kingdom, and wherever income tax is taken seriously, that its most successful administration requires very specialized training not only in accounting but in income tax statutory and case law. The requisite skills cannot be developed overnight. For this reason among others income tax officers are not transferred freely in and out of the Inland Revenue Department of the United Kingdom. They receive their promotion within that Department. It is wasteful for a government to train officers for income tax work, getting only 'apprenticeship' quality of service in the training period, and then to lose them to another department where they will perform general clerical work. On the other hand, it would be manifestly unfair to retard the

rate of promotion of good income tax officers because they could not be transferred to another department. The remedy lies in a complete change in the organization for both the recruitment and the promotion of income tax staff. Also salaries would have to be sufficiently attractive both to entice suitable technical personnel from within and without the Civil Service, and to retain skilled and experienced members of the staff, to whom offers from private enterprise are bound to be made from time to time. (Steps along the road to such basic reorganization were taken in British Guiana more than ten years ago, following a report of a senior official of Her Majesty's Inland Revenue Department upon the organization of the Income Tax Department in that colony.)

In regard to the discussion and recommendation the report offers on the taxing of the imputed rental value of owner-occupied dwellings, few persons with any sense of logic and equity could be in serious disagreement.

The chapter on the taxation of business profits is, in our view, one of the best in the report. It should serve as excellent guidance to policy makers on some important issues and tax devices. There is, for example, a discussion of the limited real incentive effect (on foreign investors) of tax exemptions when profits are subject to double taxation under prevailing international double taxation agreements. Again, it is clearly pointed out with respect to fixing the general rate of company profits tax how little room for manoeuvring tends to be actually left to the Government of Jamaica. For, in the case of the profits accruing to the Jamaican branch of a United Kingdom company, a company rate of tax in Jamaica of less than 52 per cent means merely that the difference in the tax to make up 52 per cent is collected by the United Kingdom Treasury. On the other hand, an American company which operates in Jamaica through a branch may be entitled to be treated by the United States Inland Revenue authorities as a "Western Hemisphere Trade Corporation". If it is so treated, then the American tax rate on its Jamaican profits would have been no more than 38 per cent at the time the Hicks report was prepared. The Jamaican branch is allowed to deduct its Jamaican tax from the American tax. Therefore if the Jamaican tax were reduced below 38 per cent, there would be no advantage given to the American branch, but merely a gift made to the American Government. But if the Jamaican company tax rate became significantly higher than 38 per cent, American enterprises would be discouraged from operating in Jamaica, at least as branches, since the tax rates would then compare unfavourably with the rates of other "Western Hemisphere" countries.

The line is well drawn between the effective tax treatment of the Jamaican branches of United Kingdom and United States companies on the one hand and the Jamaican subsidiaries of such companies on the other. The undistributed profits of the latter bear the Jamaican tax exclusively, regardless of what are the U.K. and U.S. company rates. The tax advantage of the sub-

subsidiary form of organization to the overseas investor, and the potential advantage of this to Jamaica are clear. We would add that another advantage that would probably accrue to Jamaica if foreign investment were made to a greater extent through subsidiary companies rather than branches would be that residents of Jamaica would have greater opportunities and incentives to acquire shares and stock. This would, of course, increase the contribution to Jamaican national income made by the foreign enterprises, and would be a stimulus to greater domestic saving by upper-income as well as middle-income groups.

The paragraphs on the pioneer industry tax concessions are instructive; they draw attention to some of the weaknesses of the law, and to the limited effectiveness of the concessions as regards companies subject to double taxation under prevailing agreements. The dangers of the vague 'tax holiday' type of approach are pointed out (Jamaica has not legislated 'tax holiday' concessions.) We think, however, that the merits and demerits of outright subsidies might have been worth examining. Since it is clear that tax exemptions and concessions amount to subsidies, we might as well consider the use of subsidies openly. It would obviously be unwise as a rule to subsidize pioneer enterprises to the extent of their total losses even for a short period in their early years. But it might be worth undertaking to subsidize pioneer industries to the extent only of a proportion of their losses in the first two or three years of their actual operation. In this way, an enterprise in the kind of industry (including agricultural industry) that usually suffers some losses in the early years would be given more encouragement than the present tax exemptions give. Less help is given now to an industry that has no profits to tax than to one that does have profits. And yet it has often happened that an enterprise which made a weak start, has developed into quite a strong, useful business in the economy. Such enterprises have sometimes contributed more to raising national income and the level of labour skills than more precocious ones. We are not willing, however, to go the extreme of suggesting that open subsidies be substituted for tax concessions entirely, though the cost to the Treasury could be less in the long run. Entrepreneurs are by nature optimistic. They expect to make profits, not losses. The prospect of a larger after-tax profit is probably somewhat more enticing than the prospect of a smaller after-subsidy loss. In any case, American enterprises would probably be much more affected by the prospects in regard to exchange control than those of either tax concessions or subsidies.

Double taxation arrangements do not prevent the Jamaican government from taxing overseas assets of deceased persons at higher rates than their Jamaican assets. The report comments that the way is open for the Jamaican government to encourage Jamaican residents to invest in Jamaica rather than overseas by means of differential death or succession duty rates. It hesitates to recommend this, however, on the ground that the immigration

of persons who possess overseas assets would be discouraged, whilst the emigration of such persons would be encouraged. But we have to ask whether this would necessarily be the case. It would depend upon the rates of tax, and upon how they compared with those of the other countries that were within the range of choice for residence. And even if the effective rate of Jamaican death tax on overseas assets was not lower than the effective rate of death duty of the closest rival alternative country of residence, a lower Jamaican income tax might tip the scales in favour of Jamaica as the choice of residence.

However, we think that the recommendations actually made with respect to the profits taxes and pioneer industry legislation are appropriate. The ordinances as they now stand do not fully satisfy the maximum of clarity and certainty. For example, there should be no doubt as to whether an enterprise could obtain wear and tear allowances to the full extent of the capital value of the asset. The carry-forward provisions should clearly apply to wear and tear allowances also. And the period of time within which an enterprise may claim its pioneer concessions should, we agree, be extended by a couple of years in the manner proposed, in order to reduce the possibilities of business fluctuations depriving the enterprise of substantial portions of the allowances.

Other very interesting chapters are those on local finance and rating. The principal tax here is, of course, the real estate tax. The report treats the progressive land tax as it well deserves to be, an inequitable nuisance to be got rid of as early as possible. This tax is also a deterrent to expansion of agriculture as well as other businesses, and so runs counter to the development incentives being given by the central government. It seems a little strange, however, that larger properties are not under-assessed relatively to smaller ones, as is usually the case elsewhere. Perhaps another and more extensive sample should be tried before we make up our minds on the manner of eliminating the progressive rates. And we suggest that efforts be made to improve the *method* of assessment. In a relatively small country like Jamaica it should not be difficult to achieve greater uniformity in method by arranging for one set of well trained assessors to cover the whole island periodically. The urgent need for the completion of the general revaluation for equity's sake is well explained.

The scant respect shown for previous proposals for a tax on unimproved land values will at first disconcert the reader of the report. But the authors remind us that in Jamaica it is not the annual rental value that is assessed but the capital value. The arguments against the existing plan for an overall de-rating of existing improvements are also well made, the regressivity of the tax that would result being given due prominence. We would add that there would also result to many, to a varying extent, large windfall gains (not subject to any form of taxation) in the form of increases in capital values to owners who had discounted the tax on improvements in calculating their

purchase price. There is recommended the much better method of encouraging building: the de-rating of future improvements for a limited number of years after the improvements have been made. It is satisfying that it is not contemplated that there should be an indiscriminate admission of 'improvements' to this privilege. Luxury improvements of an extravagant and ostentatious type could be excluded—and, of course, should be, if savings are to be encouraged into more economically advantageous investments.

Before we leave the parts of the report that deal with taxation, we would suggest that certain 'un-British' kinds of taxes may well be given some attention in Jamaica (and other West Indian territories). It is not obvious why, for example, a capital gains tax is inappropriate; and a gifts tax (on gifts exceeding a certain value and which defeat the death duty in part, or altogether in some cases). Since progressivity in tax rates is an accepted principle in the search for equity, why should not gifts and bequests be cumulated, preferably on the donor? As regards a capital gains tax, it is well to begin by asking why a capital gain should not be considered as 'income'. That it is not so considered in the United Kingdom will, of course, be enough answer for the uncritical. But, despite the justifiably famously well-administered British income tax, the peculiar notion of income on which it is based has admittedly led to a very great deal of arbitrariness in drawing the line between casual trading and regular trading. If Mr. A. sells his residence and makes a gain of £2,000 over the price he bought it for last year, he will pay no tax at all on the gain, unless he has been doing that sort of thing regularly. How many such transactions would constitute regularity? Two? Six? Four? And in what period of time? No one can predict. It would depend on the 'circumstances', or, really, on the judgment of the tax administrator—who, fortunately, has usually a high reputation for wisdom. Nevertheless, the consequences are said to be a great deal of lawful tax avoidance, opportunity for tax evasion, and loss of much of the equity at which modern tax systems aim. For while the employee and the non-speculative type of businessman pay taxes on their entire accrued income, consisting of spending plus increase in net worth in the tax year, the occasional speculator succeeds in having his 'casual' gains, however large these may be, completely protected from income tax. Yet, since so many conditions in the United Kingdom are so much more favourable to a highly successful administration of the income tax on the whole than in most other countries (large or small) the disadvantages of the arbitrary distinctions must be considerably less than in territories like Jamaica.

We do not suggest that a capital gain should be taxed at full income tax rates, for it would often reflect some merely inflationary fall in the value of money. Moreover, the prospect of capital gains may be an important incentive to certain kinds of investors. But equity would be better served if there were a tax even at a lower maximum rate on capital gains on sale or realization of assets. A necessary corollary, of course, would be permitting the deduction of

capital losses. After all, the fundamental criterion of a fair tax system in Western democracies is accepted to be the extent to which the tax is according to ability-to-pay, as gauged by economic power or wealth. Declines and rises in this should therefore be reflected in the taxes assessed on the taxpayer. Surely the time has come when policy makers in territories like Jamaica must be encouraged to cast their glances around—all around—and profit from the lessons and experiences of other peoples, whoever and wherever these might be. There must be developed both the ingenuity to create new patterns and the courage to reject the unsuitable while copying the appropriate.

In regard to the exemption of the bauxite companies from ordinary income tax for 25 years, perhaps little further should be said. The companies pay tax on a notional profit of 60 cents per ton of bauxite exported. At the prevailing rate of Jamaican income tax this works out at 1/8d per ton in tax. This plus the royalty adds to 2/8d per ton as the total direct payment to the island government. (The Demerara Bauxite Company (British Guiana) pays export tax and royalty which together have averaged approximately 2/- per ton in recent years, and also pays full ordinary income tax. The Company has been paying substantial income taxes for nearly twenty years.)

The report is probably complete in its treatment of government expenditures and the organization of the budget and budgetary procedure. The need for better classification of expenditure between current and capital, and by ministry, and the desirability of expediting annually the submission of the Estimates for the year ahead, and of the final accounts for the concluded year, are fully explained; so are the advantages of the use of select committees of the elected House, of annuality in the adoption by the House of all money measures, including the rates of taxes, for strengthening the framework for governing democratically. Since these ideas, though of basic importance, are usually more familiar, no extended comment is offered here.

There is only one minor point we are not clear about in regard to the suggestions made for the better presentation of the financial picture. We agree that depreciation and interest on loans should be deducted from the earnings of public trading and semi-trading organizations in order to arrive at true net surplus. But why should there be also deducted amounts set aside for the repayment of long-term debt incurred to finance the capital investment? A commercial enterprise is legally barred the deduction of debenture repayments from income for the determination of its income tax liability. Such repayments are appropriations of income, not charges. They are savings, in effect.

Whatever the short-comings that remain in the budgetary system of Jamaica, however, it is much less unsatisfactory than that which prevails in many other countries, including some advanced ones, with their numerous nuisance taxes and earmarked revenues. This must be recognized as reflecting the influence of the British approach to budgeting.

FINANCING DEVELOPMENT

By

G. D. N. WORSWICK

Anybody can draw up a plan for economic development. And many do. The simplest 'plans' are little more than a list of improvements in already existing industries (including agriculture) and of new industries which might be started. At the next stage of sophistication figures are used: so much money to be spent on capital investment in this sector and in that, which will, according to the plan, bring about an increase in national income of 3, 5 or more per cent per annum. This is a move in the right direction. But, if the development plans, or programmes, are to be put into practical operation, the quantitative picture of where the economy stands now, and the estimates of such things as the amount of capital needed, and the increases in employment and productivity to be achieved, ought to be reasonably accurate. It is a curious paradox that as a rule the countries with the most advanced statistical services, which show most completely what is happening in their economic life, such as U.S.A., Canada, U.K. and some Western European countries, do not show much enthusiasm for long-term development programmes. This is certainly not because these countries do not believe that further development is possible. On the contrary, in such countries everyone expects that national income per head, or productivity of labour in industry, will be a good deal higher in 10 years' time than it is now. The countries where one finds 5-year or 10-year Development Plans are most frequently those which at present lack the elementary statistical data to tell one what is going on now, never mind what can be expected to happen in the future^a. Moreover these are often countries in which there is no general expectation that things will improve merely with the passage of time.

It is just here that the resolution of the paradox is to be found. Once they are well-established, private enterprise industrial systems appear to have a dynamic of their own. Left entirely to themselves they may suffer from fluctuations, and be subject at times to chronic depression; and by the same token there is little dissent from the view that the Government, through the control of credit and the appropriate use of the budget, should ensure a steady level of full employment. Where opinions differ is in the degree to which more detailed interventions are needed; opinions also differ about the factors which influence the *rate* of growth and the mechanism best designed to promote growth. But that there will be *some* growth is invariably presupposed.

^aThe 'planned economies' of the Soviet bloc do not fit this pattern. They all have 'plans', irrespective of their degree of industrial development or of the extent of their statistical services. But there is evidence in the more advanced countries, e.g. Czechoslovakia, of a tendency towards decentralization in some sectors, which means that the central authorities are prepared to rely more on the dynamic of individual enterprises (whether public or private).

In many 'underdeveloped' countries there is no such presumption that growth will occur automatically. There are no indications that private enterprise has already, or will, catch fire and start a process of cumulative expansion. For such countries structural changes are the prerequisite of expansion and there is no likelihood of these changes happening unless governments set about it and make them happen. Jamaica is a country betwixt and between. There has, in recent years, been a rapid growth in certain special fields, e.g. bauxite extraction and the tourist industry, accompanied by a less spectacular growth in manufacturing industry.

In 1952 a Mission from the International Bank drew up a 10-year programme for economic development in Jamaica, or rather two programmes (1). In 1954, at the time when Professor and Mrs. Hicks were preparing their *Report on Finance and Taxation in Jamaica*, the Government of Jamaica was working on its own programme, which, in the then draft, was to be spread over five years, but was aiming at a more rapid rate of development than was proposed by the Bank Mission. The terms of reference of the Hicks Report were to "survey the existing system of Government finance in Jamaica . . . and to make such recommendations as would enable the Government of Jamaica to make the most efficient use of its sources of revenue". The authors wisely decided to interpret these terms very widely, and to attempt to make a general economic survey of Jamaica, within which their recommendations about public finance could be fitted. The opening two chapters on the "Economic Background" merit very careful study. The skill with which the authors piece together an account of recent economic trends in Jamaica is remarkable, but, as they themselves insist, the picture which emerges is still extremely sketchy. For example, on the vital question of food production for the home market, they are driven to say simply that this "is an obscure subject on which we have little information. But what information there is suggests that it is lagging behind." In fact the very ingenuity of some of the devices the authors are constrained to use to fill important gaps emphasizes the imperative need for the improvement and extension of the supply of basic information. Professor and Mrs. Hicks are obliged to rely on export income as "the best means which is available to us for feeling the pulse of the Jamaican economy". The words are well chosen. Export income is bound to continue to play a large part in the Jamaican economy for many years to come and *fluctuations* in it are likely to exercise a significant influence on national income. But in the long term it is what is going on inside Jamaica which will be the acid test of success: in the building up of basic services such as improvements in water supply and soil fertility, communications and the expansion of Jamaican manufacturing. Regular indices of production and construction in the major sectors are urgently needed. (The present index of production of 'specified commodities' covers only a small fraction of economic activity in Jamaica.)

The success of the development programme will turn very much on public

finance. This is not simply that the Government must find, from borrowing or from current income, the monies needed to pay for those parts of the programme which it undertakes itself. The scope of public finance is much wider than this. In the first place the way in which taxes are levied can exercise considerable influence on the willingness of business to undertake risks, and particular kinds of enterprise can be encouraged by special concessions of one kind or another. In the later chapters of the report the authors provide an excellent analysis of the present system and make a number of valuable detailed recommendations for improvement. In the second place, a rapid development programme is likely to give rise to strong inflationary pressures, and in preventing these pressures from breaking out into open inflation the Budget can be decisive. Development is bound to require a high rate of investment. Some external finance, e.g. from the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund, can be expected. But there will remain the need for a high rate of domestic saving in Jamaica. The principal sources of such saving are likely to be business profits (after taxation) and a budget surplus. It is true, of course, that as development proceeds national income will rise, and out of the higher income one can expect higher savings in the private sector, and increased government revenue. Nevertheless some desirable investments, especially in the social services, are of a kind which yield little contribution to taxable money income. And, more generally, it will be necessary to restrict the expansion of consumption, especially in sectors which compete directly with investment.

Professor and Mrs. Hicks therefore examine the sources of public revenue with a view to finding sources of increase, rather than fields for reduction, though they rightly stress the need, on equity grounds, to reduce taxes on food. Their conclusion is that: "The prospects before the Jamaican budget are not so bright that the claims of the Development Plan are likely to be met without considerable difficulty." It is probably wise for economic advisers to err on the side of caution, on the grounds that the politicians whom they advise are likely to be biased on the side of optimism. Moreover in matters of this kind first-hand personal knowledge of the situation is essential in giving a sound judgment. I have never been in Jamaica, and in any case have no wish to question the general conclusions reached in the Hicks Report. But I think that the way in which these conclusions are put may inadvertently obscure an important point. Revenue in the next few years is not rigidly predetermined. More revenue *can* be found, within limits, if the Government has the will to raise tax rates, or to extend the scope of taxation.

There is one particular item in which the report does strike the long-distance observer as being altogether too cautious, and that is the recommendation concerning the bauxite royalty. The arrangements for the Government royalty on bauxite, with more favourable terms for the company which converts into alumina in Jamaica, and the 25-year agreement under which the crude bauxite exporting companies do not pay income tax on actual profits, but pay tax on a notional profit of 60 cents per ton of bauxite exported, are

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fully and clearly described in the report and need not be repeated here. As the report says, the 25-year agreement was not a good bargain for Jamaica.

The direct benefit to Jamaica of the bauxite extraction is derived from two sources, the income generated by employment of Jamaicans in the industry and the share of 'profits' obtained from the royalty and from income tax in the case where it is paid. The ratio of capital to labour in bauxite is very high, and the direct employment created is very small. (The International Bank Mission stated that peak employment anticipated was 1,200 people.) The economic significance to Jamaica is therefore mainly derived from the tax on profits (where paid) and the royalty. The report says: "We do not see why the revenue from bauxite royalties should not be put up from the rate of £70,000 (at which it is at present running) to something like double that figure (at present output)." Since the authors later argue in favour of a widening of the differential in favour of bauxite refined in Jamaica this proposal would amount to rather more than doubling the present royalty on crude bauxite exported of 1/- a ton.

The structure of the extracting companies makes it very difficult to establish a 'price' for bauxite—but a notional price is in fact given in the trade returns and presumably this bears some relation to the price which could be obtained if the bauxite ore, or alumina, were sold to independent firms at the next stage of production.

The Table gives such details of exports and value as can be found:

EXPORTS OF BAUXITE AND ALUMINA FROM JAMAICA

	Bauxite (^{'000} tons)	Royalty at 1/- per ton (£ ^{'000})	Alumina (^{'000} tons)	Royalty at 10d. per ton (£ ^{'000})	Value in trade returns £ ^{'000}
1952	412	20	—	—	465
1953	1,139	57	29	1.2	2,765
1954	1,733	87	106	4.4	
1955	2,500	125	194	8.1	
(1st qr.)					

In 1952, 412,000 tons of bauxite and 20,000 tons of alumina were valued in the trade returns at £465,000. In 1953, 1,139,000 tons of bauxite and 29,000 tons of alumina were valued at £2,765,000. The notional value in 1952 of a ton of bauxite was thus of the order of £1 and in 1953 of over £2. In 1951 the levy of 1/- a ton was thus of the order of 5 per cent of the notional value, and already in 1952 the proportion was halved. How much significance can be attached to the notional value used in the trade returns it is hard to say, but presumably it is not entirely arbitrary. For what they are worth the figures suggest that a more substantial increase in the royalty than that suggested in the report would be feasible when account is taken of the strong and growing demand for aluminium. Without much more detailed figures

of costs, however, it is not possible to be more definite than that. Two comments may, however, not be out of place. Elsewhere in the report (p.147) it is pointed out that the present system of rates falls with particular severity on the bauxite companies. In the event, which is not at all certain, that the Hicks' recommendations for rating are carried out, the bauxite companies would obtain relief in this direction. This is a factor which should not be overlooked in negotiations concerning the royalty. The second point is that it might be that a royalty which is feasible would, to begin with, yield more revenue than appears to be needed for development. If this were so, it is not a reason for forgoing part of the royalty which could be obtained. No harm whatever is done, and much is to be gained, if the Jamaican Government builds up reserves for future development.

The negotiation of a new, and more favourable, agreement for the bauxite royalty could clearly contribute a good deal to the easing of the problem of financing the development programme. But it would be a mistake to neglect other sources of revenue. Here the report examines each item in turn. I have nothing to add with regard to the already existing system of taxes. But there is one point which is perhaps worth raising for consideration in the Jamaican context. Once a large development programme gets under way it will give rise to a variety of capital gains. The value of particular pieces of property will inevitably rise in the areas where industrial and urban development occurs: the shareholders of expanding businesses will no doubt benefit from greater dividends, but also from the rise in the value of their shares. The process will occur even without inflation, but it will be exaggerated, in money terms, if inflation occurs.

At present Jamaica's income tax system is very similar to the British and does not include capital gains in 'income' for tax purposes. That in equity such gains should be included has lately been strongly made in the Minority Report of the recent British Royal Commission on Taxation (2). The objections raised in the Majority Report in the British context were partly on the grounds of alleged impracticability, and no doubt similar objections will be heard in Jamaica.

The problem of finance of development is in the broadest sense to keep inflationary pressures in check. But there are further specific problems within this broad context. One of them is to link up savings with productive investment. As we have already observed, one of the main sources of savings will be profits, and, on the face of it, it might seem proper to oppose the extension of the income concept to include capital gains on the grounds that this will reduce the profits left in the hands of private persons. So, at any given rate of tax, it will. But the real question is what happens in the two cases to the capital gains. If they are left in private hands they *may* be reinvested in productive enterprise: but equally they may be distributed and spent on luxury consumption. This has the double disadvantage that it does nothing to help the economy to grow and it may intensify social tension by allowing the

emergence of a small, but very rich, class whose living standards are on an altogether different plane from that of most people. If the gains are taxed, with the intention that the proceeds should be used to feed development funds, these disadvantages are removed. In particular if the Industrial Development Corporation can be built up into an effective organization for providing funds for new private enterprise a capital gains tax might be one source to feed the funds.

Such a suggestion raises a host of questions. Should, for example, gains from the sale of land be included as income for tax purposes, or should the question of land 'betterment' be dealt with quite separately? Moreover the relevance of the suggestion depends on the extent to which it is intended to bring about economic development in Jamaica by direct State investment rather than through fostering private enterprise. And in any case much depends upon the efficiency of the Jamaican tax administration. But the point certainly seems worth considering: and if the general arguments turn out in favour of a tax on capital gains there is everything to be said for its early introduction, so that the necessary administrative expertise can be acquired from the relatively small number of persons who would now be involved. As incomes rise, and the number of substantial property owners increases, the argument of 'administrative difficulty' will gain rather than lose force.

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Some Observations on the Chinese in British Guiana^a

By

MORTON H. FRIED

INTRODUCTION

In 1947 there were 3,528 persons classified as Chinese in the official census figures of British Guiana. These were a fraction of the Chinese living throughout the Caribbean, a part of the larger number dwelling in almost every country in the western hemisphere. The Chinese in the New World, however, represent possibly less than 5 per cent of all overseas Chinese; most of whom are concentrated in what the Chinese call the *Nanyang*, the "South Seas": the Philippines, Indonesia and adjacent islands, and mainland South-east Asia. In recent years, social scientists of several disciplines have been turning with increasing frequency to the study of these people. Most students have directed themselves into the *Nanyang* but others have made studies of greater or lesser scope in such places as Jamaica, Peru, and the United States.

The motives or goals of these studies have been diverse. Especially in the *Nanyang* there has been a desire to learn more about the Chinese because of their strategic commercial position and their potential political role. In the western hemisphere many studies, completed or in progress, are aimed at extending knowledge of the relations between culture and the formation of personality. The objective of the trip during the course of which the data for the present paper were collected fell in neither of these categories but stemmed from general interests in problems of acculturation and specific concern with Chinese culture in its various manifestations.

During 1947 and 1948, for a period of about 15 months, the author of this paper lived in a small Chinese city and made a community study oriented about the social structure of a county seat and its relations with its hinterland.^b Ideally, the sequel to this research would be a re-study of the original community and a comparison of present conditions under the People's Government, with the observations made just prior to the collapse of the Nationalist Government. Obvious reasons make this impossible and require contemporary field study of Chinese culture by Westerners to be undertaken away from the Chinese mainland.

Work with overseas Chinese can illuminate areas of Chinese culture. This

^aThe author is indebted to the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences for financial assistance in making the survey trip during which the following data were gathered and for their support of his preparation in the Cantonese language.

^bSome of the results of that research have been published. (See 2, 3, 4).

has been demonstrated by several studies in the past, such as Schlegel's contribution to our understanding of Chinese secret societies based on his study of the *T'ien-ti hui* in Indonesia in the nineteenth century. There are clearly apparent limitations on the effectiveness of such research, however, and the necessary alteration in ways of life, as well as the fact that the original movement of Chinese cultural elements into the overseas area was partial and selective, reduces the applicability of the results of such research to China as a whole.

Yet there are more than 10,000,000 overseas Chinese scattered over most of the countries of the world. If one is interested, above all, in culture, in its processes, its development, and the way in which the bearers of a given culture respond to a situation in which their former ways of behaving must undergo some alteration in order that they may survive or flourish, then one may turn to the overseas Chinese as a source of remarkable richness. Certain possibilities for orientation of the work are immediately suggested in the form of questions. Can one say that the greater the physical distance from China the more rapid is the loss of Chinese traits by the migrants and the quicker their absorption into the local population? Is physical distance from China less important than social distance in the country of interaction, so that regardless of separation from China the crucial point is the degree of acceptability of the Chinese to the indigenous people? This question suggests another. If anti-Chinese prejudice is important, how may differences in the degree of the prejudice be explained from place to place? Of what significance is it that some of the countries to which the Chinese have gone are autonomous, while others are colonies, dependencies or other types of externally controlled political units? And within the category of colonies, does it matter what country wields the ultimate power; are the developments different in Europe, Dutch or French colonies? These and similar problems, authentic and of great intrinsic interest, may be tackled through a study of the overseas Chinese.

Naturally, thorough answers require many years of elaborate and detailed study. It was with the intention of determining whether such investigation was practical or, more specifically, if it was feasible to include certain places in the Caribbean in the plans for such a study, that the survey trip to British Guiana was made. My conclusion, which I trust will be implemented by the materials presented below, is that such study is warranted, practicable, and of great potential value.

Though the significance of such research for social scientists lacking specialist interests in Far Eastern culture is implicit in the foregoing, a few words on the question may be in order. The non-Hispanic areas of Central America and the Caribbean present, in various proportions, situations of cultural amalgamation and emergence. The stranger who comes, for example, to the British West Indies does not have to be overly sensitive to see and feel the presence of intense socio-cultural developments. Trade unionism and

popular political movements, growing demands and facilities for education, especially on higher levels, and agitation among intellectuals for a well based and distinctive flourishing of arts and letters convey an obvious message. Yet, beneath these symptoms lies—what?

It is at this point, of course, that the social scientist is distinguished from the perceptive layman, social science from simple empirical observation. Here too is the point at which the grand and inspiring view of the whole must give way to the less exciting dissections that will ultimately lead back to integration with the addition of understanding.

Since almost all places in the British West Indies include significant groups of peoples with diverse cultural backgrounds, and since it is well established in anthropology that, to paraphrase the poet, almost no star is lost—in the sense that acculturative syntheses tend toward syncretism—it is important for the specialist in Caribbean culture and social process to have pertinent data on the less numerous peoples of discrete cultural origin who live in the area. That this need is recognized and has been acted upon is evident in the small but growing number of publications devoted to such groups as the East Indians, and (in Surinam) the Indonesians. This then is the context of the present brief remarks.

NATURE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE SURVEY TRIP

The data and impressions upon which this article is based stem largely from a single quick survey trip which lasted from June 8 to September 8, 1954. An additional source of information has been the work previously published by others, as will be cited, and, in some instances, the as yet unpublished field materials of Mr. Elliot P. Skinner who, over a somewhat longer period than mine, lived in a small community along the west Bank of the Demerara River and made a community study (12). My own stay in the area was concentrated in Georgetown and its environs but some time was spent in interviewing people in Port of Spain, in various towns and villages in Demerara and Berbice, in the almost deserted Hopetown, and in Nickerie and Paramaribo, Surinam.

The mechanics of my entry into each community of sizable Chinese population was fairly standard. Generally bearing letters of introduction from other Chinese, I made myself known to a person of whom I had some advance knowledge. Invariably I was cordially but formally received and by one means or another shunted towards a person of high status holding an official or semi-official position in the Chinese community. This is probably the first clue to the general position of the Chinese in the area. In my experiences in China there are few parallels. Indeed, I had greater difficulty in getting to see Chinese officials there than I did in cementing good relations with the ordinary folk. Only under clearly special conditions, as when in 1948 I journeyed to Shang-ch'iu on the eve of the battle which sealed the fate of Nationalist China, did I encounter similar treatment. In travelling through this part of the Caribbean, however, each of the communities visited

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seemed to be protecting itself by contacting new and unknown persons through an organization. Once the organization had accepted and identified the new comer he was free to move in a more casual fashion in quest of his data.

While the 'official' contacts with various formally organized Chinese associations were very much appreciated, there was a danger that simple dependence on such sources of information would defeat the main purpose of the survey, which was to get an impression of the diversity of cultural adaptations which had been made. The officials who were first contacted were somewhat reluctant for me to meet those they considered deviant members of the community, the poor, the unsuccessful and the left-wingers. Fortunately, this attitude remained only a wish, and I was aided but never impeded in selecting my informants.

Though an attempt was made to gather material on as broad a front as possible, the fact remains that the observations which follow are based on the experiences of a very brief period of investigation. Though this certainly does not imply that individual data are suspect, the generalizations must be regarded as preliminary and tentative; the word 'hypotheses' would perhaps be more accurate.

WHO ARE THE CHINESE IN BRITISH GUIANA?

There is not one homogeneous Chinese population in the Caribbean but several types of people who are identified as Chinese. Two major axes of difference may be described. One of these distinguishes local born Chinese (*T'usheng*) from those who were born in China. Both of these are referred to by the Chinese as *hua ch'iao*^a but this term is sometimes applied only to the China-born. The second axis of difference distinguishes broadly between Cantonese and Hakka. Let us consider each of the major categories in turn.

T'usheng

The first Chinese arrived in British Guiana in 1853, surviving a trip that saw 69 of their total number (154) die in transit. At the close of that first year there were 811 Chinese in the colony, all males. Immigration came to a halt but resumed in 1859. The year 1867 saw a second halt. By this time there were 9,507 Chinese in British Guiana, including 1,975 females. Note, however, that by 1867 the total number of living Chinese in the colony was 3,592 less than had immigrated over the whole period of entry and, furthermore, that the official figures record no increase through local births.

Until 1874, the Chinese migrants came as contract labourers, being dispersed to various plantations for service^b. After 1874, an attempt was made to induce more Chinese to enter as non-contract labourers but, largely as the result of the penultimate stiffening of Ch'ing foreign policy prior to the fall

^aRomanization follows the Wade-Giles system and gives Mandarin pronunciations except in cases where the word is preceded by an asterisk. In such cases the romanization follows the Cantonese pronunciation and is based on *The Student's Cantonese-English Dictionary* (10). Thus *hua ch'iao* = **ua k'iu*.

^bThe best account of the migration of the Chinese to British Guiana and the one from which much of this data was secured remains that by Cecil Clementi (1). There are minor discrepancies between the figures given by Clementi and those which are published elsewhere, e.g., in R. R. Kuczynski (7). Since none of these discrepancies affects the structure of my paper I have made no attempt to solve them and have generally followed Clementi.

of the dynasty, only one boatload arrived. By 1878 the migration of Chinese in large numbers into British Guiana was ended. Despite the addition to the Chinese population of 700 migrants and 500 births since 1867, and despite the fact that the first Chinese officially reported to leave the colony did so in 1881, the number of Chinese had dwindled by 1879 to approximately 6,000. If the facts are correct, we are led to the conclusion that much more than half, perhaps over 8,000, Chinese immigrants died within 25 years or less of their arrival.

The largest number of Chinese ever to live in British Guiana did so in 1866 when there were a little more than 10,000 in the colony. From that year until 1910 there was a marked decrease in their numbers. The nadir is represented in the official figure for 1910, which was 2,118. There has been a subsequent reversal of the trend and the registering of slow gains. The most recent available figure, however, 3,528 Chinese in British Guiana in 1947, represents an absolute decline of 38 individuals from the previous year's total.

Of the present total number of persons registered in the census as Chinese, approximately 82 per cent are *t'usheng*—local born. The *t'usheng* include persons of every age group; they are the children, parents, grand-parents, and, even in rare cases, the great-grand parents. Such being the case, it is somewhat surprising to note again the official census figures which imply that the sex ratio in the present Chinese population is four males to three females, the absolute figures being 2,004 males and 1,524 females. The statistics should not be interpreted as meaning that one of every four Chinese must, of necessity, seek his mate outside the Chinese group. For one thing, recent breakdowns indicate a plurality of Chinese females in the age categories 15-19, 20-24 and virtual parity in the category 25-29 (14, pp. 35-6). But from age 30-50 there are between 50 per cent and 100 per cent more males than females, a predominance that actually continues until the 65-69 age grade is reached when the females again become more numerous. Though the complexities of the mating patterns in the colony make the interpretation of statistical data difficult, it is evident that the more or less constant, though slow, influx of adult Chinese is manifest in the disparate ratios.

Returning to our approximately 2,900 *t'usheng*, we must note at the outset that they too are heterogeneous as a group, though not in the same way as the home-born Chinese. The majority divisions in the *t'usheng* are those of wealth and status, but we must also remark another kind of difference. There are subtle distinctions, which, though not always the basis for behavioural differences, mark off a small group of persons who, though local born—and therefore *t'usheng*—are the children of home-born Chinese. These persons, some of whom speak of themselves as 'people between', actually straddle two cultures in a fashion recognized as usual for many second generation settlers in a strange land. They will be discussed separately.

The greatest number of the *t'usheng*, a number that is not revealed in census figures but which I guess to be 2,250 or more, are third, fourth, or

even fifth generation descendants of the original migrants. With a few exceptions that require special treatment, these people are scarcely Chinese. Some of them have few of the phenotypic characters of Mongoloids: here is a man of Caucasoid appearance but with strangely broad face and low bridged nose; here is a woman of Negroid appearance but with marked internal epicanthic folds giving her eyes the familiar slanted appearance, yet both declare themselves to me as Chinese. But, much more than the question of appearance (and it is my impression that most of the persons who identified themselves as Chinese had clearly visible Mongoloid physical characteristics) is the question of culture. Culturally there are very few Chinese among these *t'usheng* descended from the original migrants.

The *t'usheng*, with few exceptions, trace the knowledge of their past only to personal ancestors who first arrived in the colony. Beyond those figures is almost total darkness relieved only by the skimpiest appreciation for the history and culture of China. In a few interviews the informant, generally a person over 50 years of age, recalled vaguely, after great effort, some disjointed episodes that had been recounted by a parent or grandparent. The separation of these people from their past is even more notable because there are still a few survivors of the original migration, but these are carrying their age with great difficulty and are almost beyond communication.

The *t'usheng* live essentially as Guianese. Their homes, furniture, clothing, and food compares with that of Guianese in similar socio-economic positions. Much of their social life is also similar to that of others in similar class statuses. However, there remains a certain residuum of institutions, behaviour, and values that mark them, perhaps not as Chinese in terms of Chinese culture, but as distinct from the people that surround them. Perhaps the most important element of distinction is their self-recognition as a group and their action upon this recognition, a certain withdrawal from the total society and an explicit tendency to marry among themselves.

Home-born

At present there are approximately 600 persons in British Guiana who were born in China. In terms of the total number of persons registered as Chinese by census takers, the home-born have increased their proportion from 16 per cent in 1921 to 18 per cent in 1945. This increase, though very slight, marks a shift from the period when, mass immigration having ceased, the major increase in Chinese came through natural expansion. The importance of continued migration, despite the small numbers involved, in increasing the total Chinese population as against recruitment by birth, is recognized in the 1946 Census (14, p. xxii.). Significantly enough, some of the intellectuals and community leaders among the Chinese in British Guiana are concerned about the declining proportion of *t'usheng* and attribute it to a falling birthrate among the local Chinese. Superficial confirmation of their belief is given in the same census which indicates that the birthrate among Chinese in the colony declined from approximately 29 per 1,000 in the period 1891-1921 to 20 per

1,000 in 1941-1945 (14, p. xxiv). The problem, which has considerable sociological significance for both sinologists and specialists in the Caribbean, will receive further consideration below. Let me state at this juncture, however, that loss of population through change in identification is at least a partial explanation of the phenomenon. Children born to certain adults who themselves have been entered in the census as Chinese are not being recorded as Chinese. A likely hypothesis is that this is occurring as the result of marriages between a Chinese and a non-Chinese. More than this, I would like to suggest that the primary area of loss is to be found in those marriages where the husband is non-Chinese and the wife Chinese. This process is undoubtedly most rapid when the 'Chinese' party to the marriage, especially the female, is already the product of an exogamous marriage, perhaps of two or three such marriages if ascending generations are included. Another factor operating simultaneously has to do with political events in the world outside the colony. As will be seen, the orientation of many home-born Chinese involves a determination to return to China. Various conditions which, with the exception of a few years after the second World War, have been in operation for some 15 years militate against the realization of this drive. This being the case, a disproportionate number of home-born may be expected to assemble in British Guiana.

A most vivid contrast between the *t'usheng*, taken as a whole, and the home-born lies, as might be expected, in their different attitudes towards China. Briefly, the home-born enjoy as close and regular an intercourse with relatives, old neighbours and friends in China as events permit. The *t'usheng*, with a few exceptions, have few or, more usually, no personal ties with China. Any feelings they have about their ancestral country are likely to be intellectual or based on abstract emotions. Since such summary statements involve concepts of personal value, they may be easily misunderstood; thus clarification and detail is required.

The home-born and their children conform to the general pattern of relationships which have been described for *hua ch'iao* around the world. They send remittances home, play active roles in the affairs of their families in China through correspondence and the use of emissaries, visit China when they have the time and money to do so, often maintain ownership of property, including land and houses in China, often have wives and children in the home country as well as in British Guiana and sometimes send for brides from their own birthplace. They also subsidize the passages of relatives and friends who wish to come to British Guiana, and initiate proceedings in the Chinese Association that culminate in the posting of the proper bond for the newcomer by the Association. They eat Chinese food, often importing ingredients not produced locally, but they also adopt many local food habits for convenience and economy and also because they learn new ways and cultivate new tastes. They read occasional books and papers from China and attend sporadic showings of Chinese films arranged by the Chinese Association and use and

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distribute Chinese calendars which are printed outside the colony. The listing could be extended but the final expectation has unusual significance; this is the looking forward of the home-born to their home-going and their desire to be buried in their natal places.

Within the home-born group are numerous components. The most important distinction is that between the Cantonese and the Hakka. Though I have no statistics on which to rest, the Cantonese seem to outnumber the Hakka in British Guiana. If there is any significant difference in the reaction to acculturative pressures between these two subcultural groups it may be revealed through comparative study of British Guiana, Trinidad (where the two seem almost equally represented), and Surinam (where the Hakka seem to predominate).

For readers not familiar with the details of Chinese cultural variation, the distinction between Cantonese and Hakka may be briefly put. To the casual observer there are no visible differences, but the separation of the two is an ancient matter which has, often as not, involved considerable hostility. The most obvious divisor is linguistic. The Hakka and Cantonese languages are related but not mutually intelligible^a. The distance between them is a reflection of the separate histories of the two peoples. The Cantonese are descended from the more or less indigenous peoples of Yueh, the pre-Han country that extended over much of modern Kwangtung, adjacent provinces, and into modern Indo-China. The Hakka, whose name means 'the guest people', are relative newcomers. Originating in the north, a series of migrations over the course of ten or more centuries have carried them into Fukien and Kwangtung where they live side by side with Cantonese without fusion.

As dwellers in the coastal south-eastern part of China, both the Cantonese and the Hakka have, with the addition of the Fukienese and some less numerically significant subcultural groups, made up the bulk of the *hua ch'iao*, especially in the western hemisphere. In most places the Cantonese and Hakka maintain their separation not only through perpetuation of their linguistic difference but by formal associational discreteness. Thus, in Trinidad, the Hakka have at least one association devoted to themselves, the **Fui-tung-on ooi*, while other associations, like the **Foi-shaan t'ung-heung ooi*, represent the Cantonese or a segment of the Cantonese. However, in British Guiana there is scarcely any formal recognition of the Cantonese-Hakka distinction. Only one fairly inactive example of associational development paralleling the split is known to me. There is a gambling club, the Chung Wa Club, which has organizational ties to the

^a'Cantonese' is actually a group of related dialects rather than a single tongue. Variations are broad but generally not so extreme as to affect inter-intelligibility. Most of the Chinese in British Guiana speak Se-yap dialects. A valuable, brief survey of the basic linguistic differences involved is by R. A. D. Forrest (5). I would also like to note here that during my brief sojourn in British Guiana I located only two native speakers of Mandarin dialects. One, a cook in a Viet Nameese restaurant, was from the environs of Peking, the other, a handyman, was from Anhwei. Other Mandarin speakers tended to be *t'usheng* with Chinese experience and are discussed later.

Chinese Association. Despite the pan-Chinese character of that Association, the Hakka sometime in the past evidently decided that a similar club of their own was in order and created the Arrow Club. Though my observations on this matter are limited, it would seem that the Arrow Club is almost moribund; more Hakka could be found at the Chung Wa Club than at the 'Hakka Club'.

The Cantonese, who refer to themselves as **poon-tei* (Punti) (less commonly in this area as **Tong yan*), also show the peculiarity in British Guiana of not forming associations on the basis of original locality, as is done, for example, in Trinidad. This is explained by local Chinese as the result of the smallness of the total Chinese population and, especially, the small number of home-born. At any rate, it seems that a large proportion of the home-born have come from a single place, P'un-yu, in Kwangtung, yet there is no P'un-yu Association.

The most important association of the Chinese in British Guiana is the Chung Hua Hui-kuan, the Chinese Association. Housed in a large building which, like almost all other structures in Georgetown, is of wood, the appearance of the Association is Chinese only in the presence of the traditional Chinese signs displayed at the entrance and in the conventional Chinese hangings in the interior. The latter consist essentially of calligraphic scrolls, placarded slogans associated with the Kuo Min Tang, the portrait and famous sayings of Sun Yat Sen, and photographs of illustrious members, officers and past events. It is noteworthy that scarcely a single fine Chinese object is included in the furnishings. Moreover, in my limited experience, I did not encounter any fine Chinese *objets d'art* in any home that I visited. This is in marked contrast to Paramaribo where at least one club, the **Kong-i ooi*, had a fine collection of Chinese furniture in the reception hall, as well as lovely hangings. In British Guiana, the Chinese art goods most commonly encountered are the mass-produced scenic embroideries from Soochow and elsewhere (most are actually from Shanghai) and the mass-produced ceramics, rose quartz figurines, and small wooden pieces that tourists collect in Chinatowns around the world. Incidentally, lest the foregoing be misconstrued, the references to 'fine' artistic production are useful in determining the orientation of the overseas Chinese to the culture of the mother country. Many questions are involved. What is the subcultural background of the migrants? What stability may be described in their retention of Chinese traits? If emigration has meant financial improvement, has increased wealth been channelled to some degree into the acquisition of items valued by the upper classes of the home society? These and similar problems have interest for their general bearing on cultural processes and their specific implications for the culture of British Guiana. One area in which to make inquiry is in the region of art. The observation that the Chinese in British Guiana do not acquire artistic things valued by the former upper classes, but do acquire cheap imitations and reproductions of those things, is thus

of some significance. This detail is reinforced by the fact that formal apparatus for Chinese education is virtually non-existent in the colony, though special Chinese schools existed less than ten years ago. In Paramaribo, on the other hand, there are at least two such schools in operation.

Special sub-groups

Of the several cross-cutting factions into which the Chinese of British Guiana may be divided, I would like to consider only two more: the second generation descendants of home-born fathers and a small number of persons of the *t'usheng* group whose biographies set them apart from others in that category.

The Guiana-born children of China-born parents frequently consider themselves apart from all other people in the colony. In many respects they are marginal to both Chinese and Guianese cultures, perhaps most significantly in the question of identification. Some light has been shed on the sources of difficulty by Mr. George Marfoe (Ma Cho-wen), a native of the British West Indies. Among Chinese living in the western hemisphere, Mr. Marfoe is a *rara avis*, a *hua ch'iao* of Chinese literary orientation. Among other things, Mr. Marfoe has published several articles in Chinese journals. The articles are in Chinese. One of these essays describes the anomalous situation of the overseas Chinese with regard to citizenship. Since the Chinese government maintains the policy of *ius sanguinis* most of the overseas Chinese have dual citizenship: the Chinese citizenship they can hardly renounce and the 'foreign' citizenship they acquire for its local advantages. The children of Chinese are also considered Chinese and, though passports for them are not ordinarily issued, the option of assuming full Chinese citizenship is open to them throughout their lifetimes (9, p. 16).

The legal question has been exacerbated rather than resolved by the advent of the People's Government. However, this factor to one side, the second generation Chinese in a home-born family in British Guiana grows up in an atmosphere of conflicting drives and orientations. For one thing, the prospect of a return to China is very real, even at the present writing. This prospect creates a sharp difference between these Chinese and those of longer Guianese descent who, with exceptions mentioned below, rarely think of themselves and China in the same compass. Furthermore, the significant possibility that they may never return to China sets them off from their parents. The self-image of 'dangling men' is thus at least partially justified.

Though my observations do not pretend to statistical reliability, the young men of this category whom I met had many socio-cultural resemblances to each other. They were ambivalent linguistically, being able to speak fluent Chinese (Hakka or father's dialect of Cantonese) and English. They had partial literacy in Chinese, being able to cope with business records and simple personal correspondence but unable to read most books or literary journals. There seems to be some conflict, at least potential conflict, between the young men and their fathers over conceptions of career and what might

perhaps be called 'standard of living'. I have also collected statements indicating a muted difference of opinion between the generations concerning proper recreation and inter-sexual behaviour. Such areas of disagreement as this last might be multiplied; however, let it be noted that in such questions additional analytical difficulties enter, as we cannot be certain at the outset whether such conflict is a reflection of similar inter-generational antipathies present in the non-Chinese Guianese or whether more stringent patterns in the Chinese home-born group make such conflicts more severe. Certainly, if the latter is the case, the Chinese are not reacting in the same ways as other groups in the population. For one thing, the Chinese youths make a negligible contribution to delinquency rates.

Sons of home-born Chinese were often sent back to China for formal and informal education. This was the practice among those home-born who could afford it during the period prior to the second World War and to a limited extent from 1946 up to 1950. Such young men spent the first six to twelve years of their lives in British Guiana and then went to China where they entered elementary school. A few years in a Chinese middle school followed and then in descending frequency, one or more years in a Chinese college or university. Two or more decades ago, however, China was no longer regarded as the best place for higher education by the home-born Chinese. Preferring technical and professional subjects, such as engineering and medicine, the wealthy home-born sent their sons to China in their childhood but to England or the United States for higher education. These attitudes are still current but there is watchful waiting to see what the future holds for education in China; and there has been considerable use in this group of the facilities of the University College of the West Indies in Jamaica.

A second group with rather discrete characteristics consists essentially of a sector of the top prestige group in the *t'usheng* population. These are the grandchildren or great grandchildren of the most economically successful migrants; most of them being the living representatives of the families described almost 40 years ago by Clementi. The distinction of this group of persons is the fact that, though *t'usheng*, they feel strong bonds with China. They are few in number—by no means are all the descendants of successful Chinese migrants to be placed in this category. I would guess that in all British Guiana there are a few score such persons; certainly less than 50. Yet they are peculiarly interesting because, despite their interest in and notable ties with China, they are not quite Chinese. Nor are they similar to the children of the home-born described above. For one thing, they are apparently completely at home in European culture and its local Guianese manifestation. Yet many of them have lived considerable portions of their adult lives in China. We note, however, that most of them have not lived in the part of China from which their ancestors must have come, but in north and central China. As a consequence some of them speak Mandarin, others speak Shanghai dialect, a minority of the group speaks Hong Kong Cantonese, and none to my knowledge knows Hakka.

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Two primary sets of conditions have been operative in sending these people to China. Some of them have gone because of employment with a British or international corporation which maintained offices in China, such as an oil company. Others have gone as missionaries, proselytizing or medical. Evangelical Christianity is very strong in this group. One of their number, an Anglican clergyman in Georgetown, was formerly a lawyer, trained in Britain, and worked for a British firm in various places in China. Another man, closely related to the previous individual, also worked for a large foreign company in China, became interested in the doctrine of an American Baptist sect and now divides his time between his position in the Guianese civil service and revivalist religious duties.

Of considerable contemporary significance is the impression that a major difference between this group and the children of the home-born lies in their views of the Chinese political situation. By and large the *t'usheng* who are descended from the original Chinese migrants to British Guiana but who have been to China are strong adherents of the Nationalist government and now look to Taiwan. The children of the home-born seem either ambivalent and confused in loyalty or tend toward the People's Government. I will return to this question below.

More detail could be furnished on the characteristics of each of these groups, and more groups could be distinguished on the basis of criteria not yet introduced in this paper. Preferring to withhold such materials for a later publication, I will turn instead to some specific problems, using their illumination as an example of what may be expected if the investigations begun during this survey trip are extended.

CHINESE POPULATION AND ITS ORGANIZATION

Racial theories in Euro-American culture have frequently employed the theme of a 'Yellow Peril' for its frightening emotional impact on a sociologically naive audience. If recent demographic data on the Hutterite communities in the United States and Canada and certain peoples in the Near East, showing rates of population increase far exceeding anything in the Far East, do not dispose of the myth of natural Oriental superiority in fertility, a study of Chinese population in the New World should add further negation. As stated above, the Chinese in British Guiana are now less than a quarter of their optimum number and, far from showing impressive gains, are barely holding their own, despite continuing small-scale immigration.

In the absence of reliable census data, it is very difficult to come to sound conclusions about the dynamics of population growth in China. However, we may note certain trends which conflict either with popular stereotypes or, more interesting, with generalizations about population growth elsewhere. In a recent study of the demography of British Guiana, for example, a population expert credits the rural concentration of the East Indian population with responsibility for the continuation of their high fertility rate (11). There is

reason to avoid hasty agreement in the case of the Chinese in British Guiana; that is, to relate their concentration in Georgetown to their relatively low fertility. Similarly, conclusions sometimes drawn about the relation of fertility to class status are suspect for China, at least for traditional China. Hesitation in the application of these two generalizations stems from our knowledge that the size of the family in China rises from approximately 4.5 to over 10 individuals with appropriate increases in the socio-economic position of the family (6, 7). There is also a strong possibility, though it is less well documented, that traditional Chinese cities maintained favourable fertility rates. Insistence on 'traditional' is necessary because such a Chinese city was primarily an administrative centre, the population of which was dominated by office holders and those who, in one or another capacity, served them. Such cities probably lacked a numerous proletariat. In modern Chinese cities there is a considerable proletariat whose family size tends to be very small, and as a consequence observations made on this problem in contemporary circumstances are not likely to reflect the conditions of the past (8).

In relating this material to British Guiana I note first that large families are a traditional characteristic of higher socio-economic statuses in China. The Chinese in British Guiana almost without exception are drawn from lower (lowest is probably more accurate for the original migrants) socio-economic statuses. It is not strange, therefore, that large Chinese families seem to be the exception rather than the rule in the colony. However, to give the complexity of the problem its due, and to indicate the desirability of further investigation, I note that the genealogies collected indicate substantial numbers of large families in the generation that was breeding 60 to 40 years ago. This may represent the implementation by the Chinese of that period of certain ideals that could not be brought to reality by them in the home country. If so, this would be a most significant discovery about the pervasion of the lower classes by gentry values. But it is also possible to attribute the presence of large families among the Chinese of the period to their response and adaptation to the more permissive fertility conditions in their new habitat. In line with this latter reasoning, the subsequent decline in family size might be interpreted as the result of continuing acculturation and, in fact, the adjustment of the *t'usheng* to the normal expectation of a drop in fertility coincident upon urbanization.

In the realm of family structure as apart from size, there are few indications that traditional gentry modes of organization were ever realized by the Chinese in British Guiana. In Mr. Elliot Skinner's study of a village in East Bank, Demerara, he found that the two local Chinese families were organized along lines general to the other ethnic groups in the community (12). My own investigations failed to reveal a single 'clan' (*tzu*) either in operation or ever to have existed. Nor was there any of the paraphernalia of such institutions: there was no ancestral cult, no ancestral tablets, no common

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burial ground, no educational funds outside the family, and no attempt to keep permanent record of genealogy. On the positive side, however, are indications of a certain importance of kinship among most Chinese in the colony. Informants were quick to identify relatives, some quite remote. For example, some marriages that appeared in the collected genealogies united persons of the same apparent surname. For most *t'usheng* this is a more difficult problem than is normally the case in China where most people, even the illiterate, know the character for their names or at least can distinguish it, as a word, from homonyms. Scarcely any *t'usheng* know the characters for their names (indeed, there is a marked tendency to replace the Chinese name by an English one) and this might result in the confusion of two distinct but similarly pronounced names. However, when such cases were pointed out, explanations were given which made clear the independent descent of the individuals in question.

Though at the turn of the century some of the wealthiest Chinese families built great houses in which lived several generations and numerous collateral relatives, such structures and the families that occupied them seem to have passed with their founders. Furthermore, the extensions did not follow conventional Chinese patterns. Clear-cut patrilocality was not evident, many of the dwellers in the house being the husbands of daughters and, of course, the children of these couples. Today, there seems to be no notable example of such a house and family. Rather the pattern is one of atomization, most marriages leading to the establishment of new households. Dispersion of close relatives is also common. The genealogies show members of a single line scattered about the colony, sometimes about the Caribbean, occasionally even more widely distributed. In line with this we may note the absence in Georgetown of a Chinatown or even of a street dominated by Chinese business men or residents. A Chinatown is said to have once existed in Georgetown but after destruction of the area by fire in the first decade of this century it failed to be reconstituted.

Some discrepancies in the selection of mates exist between the home-born and the *t'usheng*, but the differences seem to be in the process of being levelled. This is probably as much a reflection of changes in China, as an indication of acculturation of the Chinese in the colony. Thus resistance to relatively free 'dating' is found mostly among parents who left China 25 or 30 years ago, rather than among the *t'usheng* parents or the most recent arrivals. There is considerable mating across ethnic lines both with and without formal marriage, but most Chinese of parental age expressed themselves unfavourably on the question in interviews. In the collection of genealogies it became apparent that in some families a marriage outside the Chinese group leads to virtual deletion from the group. Whether complete exile from the family is practiced remains obscure though suggested by the reactions of some of those interviewed. It is also clear that not all marriages outside the Chinese group are looked upon with equal disfavour but that

some consideration is given to the relative position of the outgroup in the status system of the colony. There is no question, however, that most of the Chinese interviewed indicated preference for Chinese mates. Though I lack statistical data, I believe that the ethnic group with which the Chinese have intermarried least is the East Indian. On the other hand, home-born Chinese, especially those who open or work in small shops in the interior, frequently take local women as common-law wives, less frequently marry them officially. This is said to be the case for several reasons. I was told, both in Trinidad and in British Guiana, that a home-born Chinese trying to run a shop in a village often has a difficult time engaging the trust of the people. If he takes an African mate, it is said, his *rapport* and fortunes improve considerably. It is difficult to generalize about the families based on such matings. My limited data suggest that they are quite stable, but the father is often a remote figure enjoying minimal communication with his wife and children. Ironically, the cultural gulf between such men and their Guianese families is paralleled by the physical gulf between the same man and his first family—another wife and children in China. The dwelling apart of a man and his wife is not unusual in Chinese society. Clerks in stores, government officials, itinerant peddlars and workers may see their immediate families for a total of less than fourteen days in the year. Thus there is ample cultural background in China for the pattern of the families which remain in China while the father lives abroad and also for the remoteness between the father and his family in the new place.

In *t'usheng* families the *rapport* among family members tends generally to be more evenly distributed and seemingly accords with norms for the socioeconomic status group in the larger society to which the *t'usheng* adhere. There is considerable companionship between fathers and sons, both sometimes being members of the Chinese Sports Club, and sharing numerous interests.

Returning briefly to problems of marriage, we may note that there are a number of apparently successful marriages between home-born men and *t'usheng* women. Despite this, there is considerable resistance on the part of local Chinese girls to the idea of wedding a home-born. The *t'usheng* girls who spoke about this were all of comfortable or even wealthy background. They said that home-born men would expect them to work in the family business, that they would have a hard time talking with such men since the men speak Chinese and only broken English, that such men consider themselves Chinese and hope to return to China, while the girls consider themselves Guianese and have no desire to go to the ancestral country; and they also complain that the home-born have no idea of 'a good time', do not know how to dance, do not enjoy parties, and have few if any Guianese friends.

There are also arguments on the other side. Home-born men in many cases prefer to send for home-born wives or, economically unable to do this, mate with women of other ethnic groups. They bypass *t'usheng* girls, they

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say, because such girls do not like to work and do not do well when forced to, because they are spendthrifts and improvident, because they demand standards of living considered unreasonable by the home-born, because they oppose the efforts of the home-born men to bring over relatives from China or to save for the eventual return to China, etc. Some studies have already been made, for example in Jamaica, on problems of family organization of the *hua ch'iao*. When the results of such studies are finally published we may expect some illumination of the very engrossing questions suggested above.

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AMONG THE T'USHENG.

The almost total absence of Chinese cultural traits among the *t'usheng* is a matter that calls for further study. It is not merely that they speak no Chinese, are losing their Chinese names, are tending to disappear into the non-Chinese population, or have a foreigner's ignorance of China. As indicative as any of these is the evidence in the genealogies which I collected of the sharp break between the original indentured migrants and the culture from which they came. This does not mean that Chinese cultural traits disappeared among that group as it landed, but rather that communication with China seems to have been utterly non-existent. Specifically, the original Chinese migrants seem never to have sent word of themselves home, nor have I uncovered any evidence that they encouraged relatives and friends to journey to British Guiana to join them.

We may speculate on this. The original Chinese migrants arrived after a hazardous voyage during which many died. Dispersed to the plantations they often suffered brutal, degrading, even fatal conditions. It might be concluded that the difficulties of the trip and subsequent hardships hardly made British Guiana the place to which one would recommend others to come. Yet there is evidence that the trip from China to various places in Southeast Asia, such as Sarawak, though shorter in time was even more dangerous of life and health—the vessels used being junks, under no restrictions or supervision such as applied to the Guiana trade (13, p. 5). Furthermore, on arriving in Sarawak, the Chinese had difficulties at least equal to those faced in British Guiana; hard, unremunerative work, strange and virulent diseases, and the fear of aboriginal head-hunters. Yet in Sarawak migration continued, much of it through the urging of persons who had made the trip and survived.

When *t'usheng* are asked about the problem of the lack of continued contact between the original migrants and their homeland, distance is invariably given as the first reason for failure. The logic is sound but superficial. My impression is that the Chinese of Surinam, next door, have not suffered the same drastic break. If this is true, and it requires investigation, then distance must be discarded as a prime reason. At least one other possibility seems significant; I will merely suggest it. The bulk of the early migrants came from China during or slightly after the Taiping Rebellion, a period of

tremendous dislocation, especially in southeastern China. My hypothesis is that the majority of migrants were illiterate peasants whose primary source of group stability in China had been common residence. The first displacement of these people had been their disastrous uprooting from their native localities: I know from my experiences in east central China, where the Taiping Rebellion also created havoc, that many of the displaced never returned to their original places but remained where the war left them or drifted elsewhere, stopping only where a relatively secure livelihood could be found. Not only did they fail to return to their homes, but their ties with the relatives and neighbours from whom they were separated were never restored. This must also have been the case with the Chinese who, after the first trauma of removal from their homes, experienced the second shock of being transported halfway around the world to British Guiana. As a corollary to this hypothesis I offer also that the double dislocation stripped many traits from the migrants. What was left consisted essentially of fundamentals: language, dress, elements of repetitive behaviour, and a few values, the latter being dominated by a drive for financial success and security. Among the things that were stripped away were modes of social organization and most of the ideology which had been effective in the old life as peasants in small villages. With special regard to religion, note the predominance of at least nominal Christians. This is easily understood. The folk religion was adjusted to the needs of a peasantry, its ritual and symbolism had to do with the successful management of a small farm. The first blow came with the move into Amoy or some other coastal city and was probably intensified by the historical reality of the Taiping ideology, itself a synthesis with a heavy admixture of Christian elements. The next move, to a remote plantation, effectively eliminated the folk religion. As for ancestor worship, I am sceptical of its importance to the peasantry to begin with, but putting this doubt to one side I note that the destruction of the social matrix in which it could operate must have made its continuation an impossibility.

A last matter is reliance on Chinese medicine. My data are all too inadequate but I failed to uncover a single important example of the use of Chinese medical techniques in contemporary British Guiana, nor could I identify anyone as a practitioner of Chinese medicine. Old informants knew a great deal about such treatments and remedies. It is clear from their remarks that Chinese drugs and purveyors of Chinese medical techniques flourished in the first half of the century the Chinese have been in the colony. Between 1900 and 1920, with the depletion of the original migrant population, knowledge of these things began to fail. Certainly by the middle of this period the Chinese were relying much more on western medicine than on Chinese.

CONCLUSIONS..

Despite the small number of Chinese of all types in the Caribbean, as compared with those in Southeast Asia, the concluding remarks of T'ien

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Ju-k'ang in his study of the Chinese in Sarawak have a certain relevance which justifies their citation and discussion in this paper:

"A major purpose of this study has been to show that the present situation of the Chinese in Sarawak is the outcome of economic and social conditions which can be scientifically observed, analysed and understood. There is nothing mysterious . . . about them. The same is true of Chinese ties with the homeland. Official preoccupation with "double loyalty" sometimes seems to suggest that the attachment which the overseas Chinese show to China is . . . inexplicable. It is argued that it is impossible fully to rely upon immigrants who manifest so strong an attachment to their homeland. Not until their sentiments change will they deserve to be trusted. But if these sentiments are nurtured by the existing circumstances of the colonial environment they cannot be expected to change until the environment itself is different. In other words, it is useless to wait for attitudes to alter first. Only by giving the immigrants a [chance] to develop a stake in the country, by enabling them to take a genuine part in local affairs and share fully in local responsibilities can one begin to create a new set of circumstances which will make it possible for the immigrant community to develop a new set of sentiments towards the land of their adoption" (13, p. 88).

The reality of an application of these statements to British Guiana will not be questioned by me. There are many home-born Chinese who have not given up their plans to return to China because of the change in governments. More significantly, there is some evidence that the change in government has created new interest in China in many *t'usheng*. A man interested in the People's Progressive Party, for instance, a young professional whose grandfathers came as contract labourers to British Guiana, wishes to go back to China, "at least for a visit." Speaking no Chinese, this English-trained intellectual wants to see for himself the China of the new government. He has a small collection of books and papers from Communist China and he takes pride in the knowledge that China is now a great and aggressive power.

Another young professional man, but one with no evident political leanings, expresses a vague desire to go to China and participate in the rebuilding he hears about. It is not so much that he wants to go to China, for he thinks he would be a total stranger there, but he is dissatisfied with his life in British Guiana and also talks about going to England or the United States.

Still a third individual, a locally born son of a home-born father, talks of going back to China and using his skill as a university-trained engineer. This man looks forward without enthusiasm to taking over his father's prosperous commercial enterprise. He would much prefer working as an engineer but maintains that he cannot use his skills in the colony—not because he is Chinese, but because of the deficient opportunities in the colonial economy of the country.

'Double loyalty', real or imagined, is not the problem in British Guiana that it is in Sarawak and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Some groups within the Chinese population of British Guiana have no basis, other than their physical appearance, for an attachment to China, and among them none exists save, perhaps, for slightly more interest and curiosity about China than is manifest in other groups of Guianese. The group that has its major orientation toward China is the home-born. With immediate relatives and property there, often maintaining business connections with mainland China through Hong Kong

intermediaries, we need look no further for the source of their interest. This has been dulled in some cases by reports of expropriation or violence but such events have by no means obliterated the goal of returning to the homeland. In view of these observations on the home-born and *t'usheng* of British Guiana, the following tentative generalizations are suggested:

The original indentured population lost contact with China for several reasons, among them the distance, the rigours of travel, the difficulties of making a living in British Guiana at that time, the failure to develop peasant farming (i.e., the failure of Hopetown), and the fact that most of the migrants came from already proletarianized and shattered family situations. Thus, though there is some evidence that emotional identification with Chinese culture remained strong in the original migrants, there was no way of nourishing that feeling and it atrophied.

The second generation—the children of the indentured folk—had contact with China only through the tales of their parents and those few customs which managed to persist in attenuated form. Growing up during a period which saw the widest dispersion of the Chinese across the colony, they were surrounded by non-Chinese people and lacked a separate community environment. Furthermore, a number of them had fathers who had achieved some degree of financial success, the very marriage of their parents being a clue to that success. As such these persons had a stake, at the very least, in the economy of their new country. Indeed, some of them contributed to the development of the extractive industries not only as entrepreneurs servicing the prospectors but as explorers themselves. The third and fourth generation of Chinese form several groups. There is a group which is in the process of merging with the working peoples in Georgetown, another which is continuing with greater or less success the enterprises begun by their fathers and grandfathers, and a third which is seeking new goals largely through new socio-economic roles. In this last category there are already several persons who seem to have achieved their goals, being professional men, civil servants, or members of the government. Many others have completed their education with one or more years of college but have returned to their parental businesses.

Colonial officials generally fail to see any basis for resentment and hostility against the colonial system in the cases of individuals of good education and relatively secure economic background. The emergence from such circumstances of persons not only sympathetic to ideas of change but eager to join, perhaps even to share in the leadership of movements designed to seek changes, frequently chagrins both local and external authority. But many lawyers, doctors, engineers and other professional men who also happen to be of Chinese descent feel that their horizons are circumscribed. Many resist the easy assumption that the restraints they face are due to their ethnic discreteness and point out that they suffer perhaps less than other groups from a malady common to most people in a colonial situation—the enervating

effects of an economy that does not operate in the best interests of the inhabitants of the colony as a whole. But whether the difficulty is seen as one stemming from 'racial' friction or from imperialism it is understandable why a few key roles in the People's Progressive Party are played by Chinese who are descended from the original migrants. It also indicates the possibility that if the present situation persists we may look for the vague interest in Communist China expressed by some of the younger Chinese in British Guiana to become more concrete and immediate.

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A Carib Village in Dominica*

By

E. P. BANKS

MAN might be described with little exaggeration as a village-dwelling animal. The description would be true for the past half-dozen millennia, since the earliest Neolithic villages. It is beginning to be untrue for large numbers of mankind; but despite the enormous growth of urban populations in recent years, probably the majority of human beings still live in small farming villages. While many problems of social theory and social policy can only be approached through the study of cities or of whole urban societies, our knowledge of human social and cultural life would be incomplete without an understanding of the village (9).

It is in the small community that society may be viewed in microcosm. Here institutions exist in their simplest forms and here the relationships among people—economic, political, familial—are accessible to analysis. My intention is to present a description of a West Indian village as a contribution toward the understanding of village social structure in general. The material on which it is based was obtained during a field trip in 1950-51, and all statements in the present tense herein refer to that time. Since the purpose of the field trip was to study other aspects of the culture of the Carib Indians and not specifically to analyze the structure of a single village, some information needed for a full description of the village is lacking. Exact figures on income and areas of land under cultivation, for example, were not obtained. Other types of quantitative data ordinarily available from official sources for urban communities, such as vital statistics, were not available. The reader may find in spite of these gaps in the record something of interest in a report based on personal observation and the testimony of native informants.

The village of Bataka, with a population of about 200, is located just within the northern boundary of the Carib Reserve on the Atlantic coast of Dominica. (See Fig. 1). Physically it is a collection of small wooden houses scattered along a steep hillside overlooking the sea, which is about one-half mile distant and 250 feet below. The houses are interspersed with coconut palms, mango, lime and other fruit trees and are connected by a network of footpaths, which also lead away to other points of importance to the villagers: to the west, where most of the vegetable gardens lie and where the interior forest furnishes various useful products, and north, east and south to the

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main coastal trail, which in turn leads to the cove where fishing boats are kept, to the remainder of the Reserve and to the paved road that communicates with the outside world. On the south the village is bounded by the Bataka River, a stream used for bathing and as a source of fresh water.



Fig. 1

The people of Bataka are Carib Indians and represent, together with a few hundred other inhabitants of the Reserve, the only group of Caribs remaining in the islands of the thousands who lived there at the time of European discovery.^a They are thus of considerable interest to the ethnologist, despite the loss of most of their aboriginal culture (including their language, which has been replaced by the Creole patois and to a minor extent by English). The structure and functioning of the village, however, has much in common with other villages in Dominica and the West Indies generally. Similar problems of getting a living from the soil and the sea, of growing up and marrying and rearing children, of getting along with relatives and neighbours confront the Caribs and other West Indians.

^aNumerous Black Caribs live today on the coast of Central America, where they were deported in 1797. See Douglas Taylor (10).

In pre-Columbian times the Caribs appear to have lived in small settlements, an entire community sometimes consisting of a single family.^a Inasmuch as some families were polygynous—men of high status could have several wives (4, p. 58)—and most were extended consanguinally, with several generations living together, one-family settlements could approach village size. Labat describes a visit to the home of an aged woman who lived surrounded by a multitude of children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren (7). The typical Carib settlement of aboriginal and early colonial times consisted of a *carbet* or large central building in which food was cooked and eaten and other daytime activities took place, surrounded by a number of huts, each occupied by a subdivision of the extended family: a wife of the head of the family and her children, or a daughter with her husband and children. Aside from changes in architecture and in marriage customs (i.e., the abandonment of polygyny), this pattern is still followed by many of the Caribs, so that a community the size and composition of Bataka represents an atypical and recent departure from traditional patterns.

Little is known of the history of the Dominican Caribs from the time their numbers were greatly reduced in the eighteenth century until the last two or three decades. They lived by the traditional pursuits of fishing, horticulture and hunting (around 1790 they were selling game obtained with bow and arrow (1) but the loss of this skill, plus the prohibitive cost of firearms and the shrinking supply of game, has diminished the importance of hunting). Communities were small and many families lived in relative isolation. There was no formal organization except that at the suggestion of British colonial officials a tribal chief was appointed, with authority to settle disputes and administer justice in petty cases.

Surrounded and outnumbered by Europeans and Africans, the Caribs at first taught the newcomers more than they learned from them. The new settlers adopted Carib food plants (such as manioc), learned to value their baskets and dugout canoes and even incorporated words from the Carib language into their own. The Caribs accepted the knives, axes and fishhooks of the invaders and acquired a taste for rum. They were also converted to the Roman Catholic faith. As time went on, intermarriage and the sheer weight of numbers resulted in the gradual acculturation or assimilation of the Caribs. They began to abandon some traditional handicrafts (weaving, pottery making, the use of the bow). They imitated their neighbours in such matters as clothing and housing, shifting from the thatched hut or *muinan* to the wooden house with shingle roof and wooden-shuttered doors and windows. Finally toward the end of the nineteenth century they gave up their distinctive language and today, aside from their racial distinctiveness and a few characteristic crafts and customs, the Caribs live in much the same way as their Creole neighbours.

^aSee Armand de la Paix (4, p. 61). This is one of the most authentic of the early sources on the Caribs, being probably based on the first-hand observations of Raymond Breton, an early missionary to Guadeloupe and Dominica.

The external relations of present-day Bataka will be discussed first, followed by an examination of the internal structure of the community. The external relations of Bataka may be subdivided into (i) relations between Bataka and the outside world, (ii) relations between the village and the island of Dominica, and (iii) relations between the village and the Carib Reserve. Each of these relationships involves units of different magnitude and nature and each presents special problems of analysis.

The relationship between the village and the outside world is a paradoxical combination of isolation and direct contact. Bataka is geographically isolated—more so than would appear from a glance at the map. Dominica has poorer external and internal transportation services than most West Indian islands, while Bataka lies in one of the most remote parts of the island. Only a determined traveller can cope with the combination of motor launch, lorry and walking required to get from Roseau to Bataka. The journey may well last sixteen hours—or several days, if anything goes wrong. For Caribs the main consideration is neither the time nor the inconvenience of the journey, but its cost. When they wish to go to Roseau they walk through the mountainous interior arriving in six or seven hours. Correlated with the geographical isolation is a cultural and economic isolation that is perhaps even more effective in limiting Carib participation in world society. A combination of language barrier and illiteracy shut off the village very effectively. The Carib speak the Creole patois as a first language and few speak English adequately. Most adults are unable to read and write; illiteracy and poverty deprive them of newspapers and books.

The effects of isolation are partially overcome by the fact that Caribs are great travellers. In pre-Columbian times they made voyages of several hundred miles for purposes of trade and warfare. Now that steamships have replaced canoes they would indulge their wander-lust even more except for the expense. Even so, they are much readier than most Dominicans to venture overseas, going chiefly to other West Indian islands. The cost of passage and of a passport has in recent years limited their foreign travel. Nowadays the typical voyage is a contraband crossing to Guadeloupe by sailboat, without benefit of passport. Young men and a few young women go to Guadeloupe intending to work and to return with their savings to Bataka. Some never return and those who do are generally penniless; this apparently does not discourage others from making the attempt. Naturally no statistics are to be had on this migration. An idea of its extent can be gained from the fact that almost every Carib man can recount one or more such ventures in his youth. The inter-island travel exposes Caribs to things not found at home: employment at relatively high wages, a variety of European goods and in general a version of modern industrial-urban life. The effects of this exposure on the life of Bataka are not obvious, however. The main effect seems to be to heighten the French aspect of their culture. In language, religion and habit of mind, as well as in such things as the cut of their clothes, the Caribs con-

tinue to identify themselves more closely with the French than with the English.

Like most rural communities, Bataka rarely encounters the outside world directly. Its relations with world society and world economy are mediated through a series of institutions of which it is but a small part. Formally and precisely, the community has no international relations; yet inevitably it influences in a small way and is influenced by events and trends in other parts of the world. The way these influences are transmitted through a maze of intermediary organizations and institutions makes their analysis difficult. Information about far more than local events is needed to understand them fully. It is possible to give an example or two of these indirect relationships. Bataka is fairly well insulated from participation in the world economy by its relative self-sufficiency in food and other necessities. Nevertheless fluctuations in the price of goods produced or consumed by the Caribs cannot be ignored by them. They spoke to the author of the loss in income they experienced when the price of vanilla fell after the second World War. More substantially, they were affected by changes in the banana market that occurred during 1950-51. Through the efforts of the Colonial Development Company and private companies a regular banana trade developed in Dominica, with periodic shipments at a stable price (and one that appeared attractive to the Caribs). Though the people of Bataka did not take part in the ensuing expansion of banana cultivation on the same scale as the larger estates, they began to plant bananas where previously food crops for home consumption had been grown. Though the sums of money involved were small by 'civilized' standards, to an economy that previously measured its cash transactions and accumulations in shillings and pence the new income was important. Without any capital outlay and with the investment of a few days of labour a family could have \$40-50 worth of bananas ready for sale every month or two. The influx of cash had several effects on the local economy. With more cash available, more goods were purchased from non-Carib sources, accelerating the abandonment of handicrafts. For example, in the 1930s the Caribs usually made their fishing line by hand out of local materials. By 1951 they used mainly imported machine-made line. To some extent they neglected the cultivation of food in favour of the new cash crop and were forced to spend some of their income on imported foodstuffs such as wheat flour and bread and canned meats and fish.

Thus it is impossible to divide relations with the outside world sharply from relations with the rest of Dominica. Economically, politically and socially the most frequent and most important external contacts of the Caribs are with their neighbours in Dominica. One thing that impressed the author was the relatively small part that such contacts play in the economy of Bataka. Aside from the banana trade, a recent and possibly temporary phenomenon, the Carib economy does not depend heavily on trade with the rest of Dominica. Most of the food consumed in Bataka is raised by the Caribs and many

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necessities made locally. Cash is ordinarily needed only for such items as salt, oil, pepper, kerosene, cloth and an occasional tool. Similarly the opportunities for obtaining cash are limited. The making of shingles, baskets and boats is the major source and the return from these activities very small. A dugout that requires several weeks to construct may be sold for \$8-10 and a bottle of rum (though the buyer may re-sell it for \$30-50). Baskets requiring 40 to 60 hours of skilled labour sell for a dollar or two.

Other villages in Dominica receive considerable income from wages, a source surprisingly absent from the Carib budget. Only a handful of Caribs work on estates or for the Public Works Department. Investigation showed that the Caribs have a poor reputation among potential employers. They are supposed to be unreliable, to drink too much and not to have the necessary skills. Estate managers stated that they were good for clearing land and were hired for that purpose, but that they did not know how to do the labour of cultivation in the required manner. The author's impression was that this reputation was usually not based on actual experience with Carib workers and may be classed as a prejudice. It seems paradoxical that Caribs should be in demand in Guadeloupe for precisely those jobs for which they are rejected in Dominica.

One thing that serves to integrate Bataka with the rest of Dominican society, or at least to prevent its complete isolation, is the location of several institutions of interest and importance to the Batakans. The nearest church, school and police station are at Salybia; the nearest magistrate's court and medical clinic are at Marigot (three miles north of Bataka). School does not play as large a part in the life of the Caribs as one might assume; despite the compulsory attendance law, attendance is irregular and few Caribs finish the regular course. This is due partly to the fact that instruction is carried on in English, a language with which few Caribs are at home. The other institutions mentioned operate only at intervals—mass is held at Salybia once a month or less often, for example—but act to focus the attention of the Caribs beyond the limits of their village.

To some extent the social relations between Bataka and other Dominicans must be interpreted as race relations. Most of the Caribs display distinctive physical traits that set them apart from their predominantly Negroid neighbours. In addition they are aware of their racial and cultural distinctiveness and this enters into the relations with outsiders. The people of Bataka are almost completely acculturated to the culture of the country people of Dominica, so that any Dominican villager would feel on familiar ground in Bataka; but the Caribs often exaggerate their Carib-ness and jealously preserve what remains of their culture. One practical result is that marriage between Caribs and non-Caribs is theoretically disapproved. This is not to say that such marriages do not occur; Creole spouses appear in several Bataka households and perhaps a dozen natives of Bataka have married Creoles elsewhere. But the Carib Council (an elected group of six men re-

placing the former chieftaincy) and public opinion generally condemn these unions or account them less desirable than endogamous ones. At least one formal sanction is applied to enforce this rule: the Council has announced that Carib women marrying non-Carib men must leave the Reserve. Although there is at least one case of a woman of Bataka bringing her Creole husband to live on the Reserve, possibly because he can claim a fraction of Carib blood, this rule is generally observed. A group of four or five families consisting of Carib women and Creole men have established themselves just across the boundary from Bataka in an attempt to get as close to the Reserve as possible. The rule is particularly interesting in that it goes contrary to the traditional matrilocal emphasis in Carib family life. The Council would have been acting more consistently with Carib traditions if it had ruled that Carib men must leave the Reserve, rather than women. There are a number of non-Caribs living on the Reserve, especially at Crayfish River, but their residence antedates the Council's ruling.

The position of the Caribs in the social and racial scale of Dominican society is somewhat paradoxical. Objectively they seem to rank with the lowest class of poor, uneducated and politically weak country folk, and in some respects (for example, their reputation as heavy drinkers) they rank even lower. Yet they protest their racial superiority over the Negroes and show pride in their distinctive physical features, such as light skin and straight hair. This pride does not prevent them from associating with Negroes, frequently in a subordinate position, and has not prevented over the generations much interbreeding and intermarriage. The result is that despite attempts to discourage intermarriage the Caribs are gradually being absorbed into the mainly Negroid racial stock of the island.

The relations between Bataka and the rest of the Reserve, which has an area of approximately 3,700 acres and a population of 600-700, are obscured by the essential racial and cultural unity of the Reserve population and by the lack of clear-cut social divisions among them. Nevertheless Bataka is socially as well as ecologically a community, being set apart to a degree from the rest of the Carib population. It is the largest Carib community, the other settlements, such as Salybia and St. Cyr, being little more than neighbourhoods or arbitrary segments of a population that is continuously distributed along the coast. The most significant relationship between Bataka and the rest of the Reserve has to do with the holding of land for cultivation. Since most of the land adjacent to the village has been exhausted, most of the Batakans cultivate land on the interior edge of the Reserve inland from the other settlements. By custom Carib land is owned by the entire tribe and individuals or families acquire and retain title to specific areas by making use of them. Such a system of use ownership without written records or surveyor's marks would seem to be an invitation to constant dissension, but apparently quarrels over land are relatively rare. The rest of the Caribs have begun to feel the pressure from Bataka's large and growing population, however, and resent-

ment over this, as well as the advantage possessed by Bataka in being closer to civilization and thus more wealthy, has created a certain amount of envy. This is sometimes expressed by accusing the Batakans of being sorcerers. Whether there are sorcerers at Bataka, or more than in other places, is not the kind of question on which it is easy to obtain accurate information; but it is a fact that people from Bataka occasionally consult non-Carib *obiamen*. Presumably they can do so more often than other Caribs because of their greater wealth. At any rate, accusations of sorcery are commonly used in the Reserve against anyone who enjoys material success.

A factor in the social separateness of Bataka is the endogamous tendency of its people. Most of the adults now in Bataka were born there and most of their children will find mates within the village. The minority of outsiders, however, continuing through the generations, gives many Batakans kin in other parts of the Reserve. Important too is the pseudo-kinship relationship of co-parent: i.e., between the parents of a child and its godparents. Persons standing in such a relationship address each other as *compere* or *commere* and maintain friendly relations throughout life. In some cases, of course, co-parents are also related consanguinally. Kinship and co-parent relationships furnish a framework within which economic transactions and casual social contacts, such as visiting or entertaining at christening or wedding parties, take place. Two examples will indicate how the system works.

The Batakans obtain fish by putting to sea in dugout canoes with masts and sails, and fishing several miles offshore with hand lines. Usually fishermen catch only enough for their own families, but when they have a surplus they offer it for sale at the beach. The demand usually far exceeds the supply, and the fishermen are besieged by pleading women with empty baskets. The advantages of having a claim of kinship upon a fisherman at such a time are obvious. Formerly the fishermen gave away the surplus, presumably giving their kin and friends first choice (II, p. 144)^a.

When someone dies at Bataka the funeral is conducted within 24 hours and is a perfunctory affair. However, 8 days later a wake ("nine-night") is held. This is a major social occasion; food and drink are lavishly prepared by the family of the deceased and numerous guests are invited. Most of the guests are relatives, co-parents, godchildren and/or godparents of the deceased. These people will come from any distance to a wake, which may be one of the few occasions to bring them together during the course of a year.

The location and general physical pattern of Bataka has been described (see above and Fig. 2). At first glance the arrangement of houses appears to be random and without plan. The map even gives a spurious order to the village, since many trails, paths and shortcuts exist in addition to the trails indicated on the map. A historical approach helps clarify the picture. No reliable documents are available for the history of the community, but a rough

^aTaylor's numerous articles contain a valuable account of recent Carib culture.

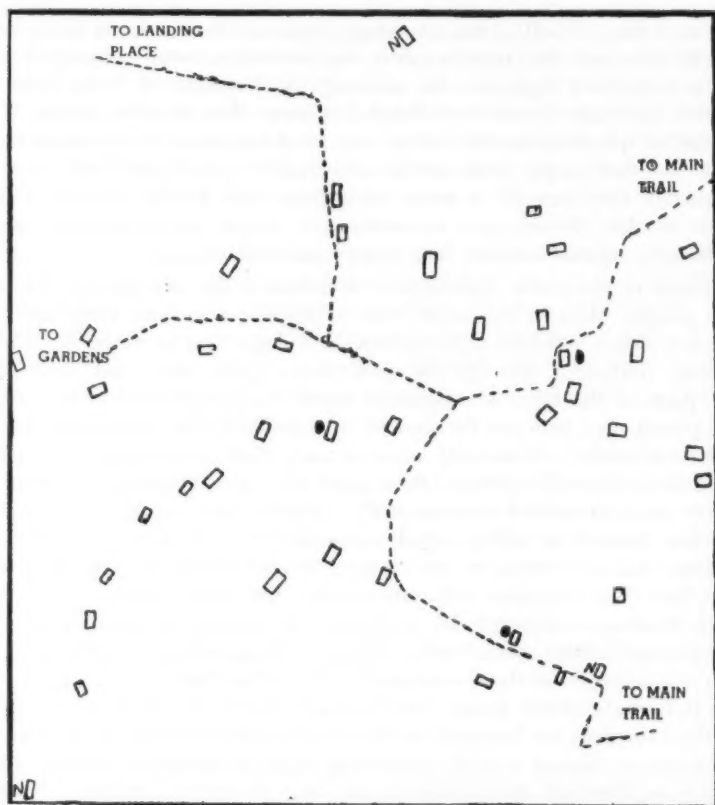


Fig. 2

comparison of the relative age of the various houses and some knowledge of the kin relationships that link their occupants make possible an estimate of the course of events in the growth of Bataka. Houses marked with a spot in Fig. 2 are the oldest. We may visualize Bataka as originally the home of one or two families living along the main trails. As the population grew by natural increase and gradual migration, houses were built, filling in some of the vacant space among the original houses and then extending the area of the village. The newest houses (marked N in Fig 2) are mainly on the outskirts of the village.

Kin relationships to a greater extent determine the location of houses. Typically a Carib woman may continue to live in her parents' house after she has children and even after marriage (the two events often occurring in that order), her husband coming to live there. Eventually as the family grows or as several daughters marry, new houses will be built close by the

parental dwelling. Several such clusters of houses exist in Bataka, and architecturally the unifying feature is the common kitchen. All Carib houses (in fact, all Dominican houses) have a separate building for a kitchen. When an extended family occupies several contiguous houses they have a single kitchen, where food is prepared for the entire family.

When no space is available or when a conflict of personalities occurs, the younger couple will build elsewhere. Commonly this is on the nearest open land, but here Carib land tenure customs enter the picture. Not all of the unoccupied land in and near the village is free. Land not occupied by houses may be under cultivation or it may be covered by fruit trees or coconut palms. According to Carib customary law, land belongs to the individual (or family) who uses it. If a man plants a tree it belongs to him, which effectively prevents others from using the land on which it grows. There is some uncertainty among the Caribs as to when a family relinquishes ownership of a piece of land; presumably they might leave it fallow for a year or two and still have a claim to it. The result of these customs is to force those who would build new houses to go farther and farther from the village. There is a tendency to build along the principal trails.

Statistics on the population of Bataka and the Carib Reserve are difficult to obtain. The following table shows all of the estimates and counts of the Carib population known to the author:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1700	2000	Estimate (Ref. 7)
1790	150	Estimate (Ref. 1)
1853	125	Census (Ref. 5)
1875	120	Estimate (Ref. 8)
1950	650	Estimate by the author; not all Carib

A house-to-house census of Bataka conducted by the author obtained the following figures: 201 people living in 35 households. The average household thus comprised 5.74 individuals; households ranged in size from 2 to 11 persons with a mode of 5. The census materials unfortunately do not contain information accurate enough for a discussion of the age composition of the population. The sex ratio is 118.48 (109 females, 92 males). In the absence of any information on the ratio of the sexes at birth or on differential mortality at various ages, it is still possible to identify some of the factors behind the ratio. Life in Bataka is more hazardous for men than for women. Felling trees and going to sea in small dugouts, men are exposed to more than their share of danger. Several Bataka households are headed by widows. Some of the young men go to Guadeloupe and elsewhere to work; at the time of the census several families had such missing members.

Formerly the Caribs had a complex kinship system, with an elaborate terminology and a variety of special relationships (12). Today the terminology, as expressed in Creole patois, is not strikingly different from French or English

usage. Exceptions are the insistence on indicating relative age in some categories (if referring to his brother, a Carib will always say "elder brother" or "younger brother") and the terms *combosse*, and *compere* and *commere*. *Combosse* is used between men who have had sexual intercourse with the same woman and symbolizes a relationship not of jealousy and rivalry, as might be expected, but of friendship and familiarity. *Compere* and *commere* are the co-parent relationships already referred to.

It is difficult to convey an idea of the complexity of kin relationships in a small, relatively inbred community like Bataka. Almost everyone is related to everyone else by blood or marriage, or both. The complexity is mitigated somewhat by the absence of written or ceremonial genealogies, so that many relationships are ignored by the people themselves and thus are of no social significance. For example, marriages take place between second or third cousins in which both parties are unaware of their kinship. The practical effect of the web of kinship is to convert almost any kind of inter-personal contact into a kinship event; for example, the buying and selling of fish, as noted above, is as much a kinship event as an economic one. Add to this the fact that the people involved may be not only blood or affinal kin but also co-parents or godchild and godparent, and it is evident that inter-personal relations even in a small community tend toward infinity.

In the village structure, however, a few kin relationships are especially important. The relationship between a man and his wife's family is one of these. Reference has already been made to the matrilocal residence practised by the Caribs. More than half the households in Bataka are matrilocal. One of the earliest observers of Carib society pointed out the implications of matrilocality:

"Les hommes suyuent leurs femmes, & non pas les femmes les hommes (s'ils ne sont Capitaines) ainsi ceux qui ont beaucoup de filles sont plus aduantagez: car leur gendres viennent demeurer avec eux, abbattent leurs jardins, font leurs cases, & vont a la pesche pour eux".^a

One result of this pattern is the reluctance of parents to allow their sons to marry, since they will be deprived of their aid; and marriage, which in many societies serves to bring families together, here may create bad feeling between the families involved. The young man who marries finds himself in a difficult position, drawn by conflicting loyalties and demands. Even if he gives his full attention to his wife and her family he may be rewarded with a subordinate and insecure place in his new home. Undoubtedly the difficulties inherent in matrilocality have led to an increase of other types of marriage residence in recent years. In one situation matrilocality still offers advantages: according to Carib customary law the youngest daughter inherits the parental dwelling, so the youngest girl in a family usually has no trouble finding a man willing to marry her.

^aSee Raymond Breton (3). Nominally a dictionary, this book and its companion 'French-Carib' volume contain some of the best early ethnographic material on the Caribs.

Unlike communities more closely involved in modern industrial societies, Bataka has few structured relationships outside family and kinship. There are no contractual relationships, no employer-employee relationships, no corporate organizations or bureaucratic hierarchies. Socially and religiously, the godparent relationship stands alone, and it becomes to all intents and purposes a kin relationship. Economically, there are ephemeral buyer-seller relationships and those associated with the *coup de main*, or co-operative work group. Following an ancient custom which also may have African roots, the Caribs handle certain types of work by collecting a group of men. The group proceeds to clear land or to 'haul down' a partly finished dugout from the interior and enjoys food and drink supplied by the host, who incurs the obligation to work for others in return. Another non-kinship relationship of workers is the fishing partnership. Fishermen typically work in pairs or trios, one man furnishing the boat and each bringing his own tackle. One man serves as captain, steering the boat and directing sailing and fishing operations. At the end of the day the catch is divided, the owner getting an extra share 'for the boat'. The fishing partnerships are stable, some lasting for years, and may duplicate kinship ties (as when brothers are also fishing partners).

There is no formal political organization in Bataka other than the Council, which covers the entire Reserve and is relatively inactive. Informally, there are at least two factions within the village contending for power. One of these is headed by the ambitious widow of a former community leader; the other is led by a man whose numerous children and other kin support him. Characteristically, the Caribs accuse both leaders of being sorcerers. In the absence of appointments to be made or money to be obtained politically it appears that the power sought by the factions is mainly personal prestige and influence. Membership in the factions follows kinship lines almost exclusively, so that one of the main tasks of the faction leaders is to arrange marriages that will bring new allies into the faction.

The general impression made by the social life of Bataka is that of a loosely patterned social structure (11, p. 115). One aspect of this is the absence of social units of real structural importance and permanence larger than the extended family. Many societies with populations no smaller and environments no more difficult than those of Bataka are able to sustain more elaborate social structures (for example, clan and moiety systems). There seem to be forces at work in Carib society to discourage the formation of larger groupings. A study of other aspects of Carib culture suggests that in the background of all Carib thought and behaviour there is a theme, or configuration, which defines all human relationships as potentially dangerous^a. This is illustrated by such practices as the *couvade* and other ritual prohibitions and purifications, and by Carib theories of sickness (13). This theme (of which the average Carib may not be entirely conscious) works against those positive or

^aFor background on this approach see Ruth Benedict (2) and Clyde Kluckhohn (6).

integrating forces, such as the economic advantages of co-operation, that tend toward the elaboration of social structure. It would be interesting to compare the structure of Bataka and of other West Indian villages to determine if this theme is peculiar to the Caribs or generally shared in that area.

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Naming Customs In St. Lucia

By

DANIEL J. CROWLEY

When a St. Lucian child is born, his parents choose a godparent of each sex if he is to be baptized a Catholic. If he is to be an Anglican, he will have two godparents of his own sex, and one of the opposite sex. These godparents hold the child and speak for him in the ceremonies of affiliation with the Church. Each godparent is expected to choose a name for the child. The parents may suggest their own choices, but the final decision is left to the godparents. Customarily, Catholic parents also add a third name of their own choosing, so that nearly every St. Lucian child has three 'first names', 'Christian names' or 'given names' at birth, as well as his 'last name', 'surname', or 'title', the last being the local term. The birth certificate made out by the priest lists all three first names, the usual requirement being that one should be a saint's name. The government registry also lists all the first names stated by the parents. It is customary for at least one of the godparents to suggest his own name, and for another to suggest the name of the saint on whose feast day the child was born. Through these two means, unusual and archaic names such as Vitalis, Cigile, Sessenne, and Epiphane have a wide circulation in this community.

The godparents' responsibility for the child is second only to that of his parents. They must see that he performs his religious duties, learns his catechism, and takes the Sacraments. If the parents die or are unable to look after the child, the godparents singly or jointly are expected to raise and support the child (4, p. 119). The effectiveness of this institution and of the West Indian extended family is demonstrated by the fact that St. Lucia, with a population of 85,000, has no orphanages.

To stress the closeness of the godparent relationship, Catholic Canon Law forbids marriage between godparent and godchild. The relationship is also recognized in Creole patois, the St. Lucian language. The mother and godmother(s) of a child address each other as *makome*^a (French: *ma commere*) and the father and godfather(s) as *cope* (French: *compere*), and the godparents also use these terms of address among themselves^b. They are in such common usage that they are no longer limited strictly to parents and godparents. They now have the meaning of 'friend' or even 'pal'^c. The child

^aThe orthography used for Creole patois is similar to the phonemic Laubach system used in Haiti. Each letter has only one sound, pronounced approximately as in English, except as follows: *a*, as in *far*; *i* as *ee* in *need*; *g* as in *get*; *j* as *s* in *measure*; *u* as *o* in *move*; *o* as *aw* in *lawn*; *e* as *a* in *day*; *e* as in *bet*.

^bIn France the parallel terms are used only between godparents.

^c*Cope Lapa* and *Cope Tig* are the protagonists of St. Lucian and other Creole 'listwa' or folktales. See E. C. Parsons (7).

always addresses his godmother(s) as *nin* or *nenen* (French: *marraine*), and his godfather(s) as *pawe* (French: *parrain*.)

The 'title' or family name of the child presents different problems at the time of baptism. Of the 3,669 children born in St. Lucia in 1953, 2,122 or approximately 70 per cent were illegitimate in the eyes of Church and State (5). Perhaps in an attempt to stigmatize non-sacramental unions, the Catholic clergy do not use the father's title, as is often allowed in the West Indies, but the mother's, on the birth certificate, even when the father claims the child. Illegitimate children are baptised on a different day from legitimate children, and no *caviyo* (French: *carillon*) or church-bell concert is played. The government registry of births also uses the mother's title for an illegitimate child, although a few years ago there was rumour of a bill which would register each child, legitimate or illegitimate, by his father's name, if known.^a

But these foreign legal technicalities do not seriously influence the St. Lucian Creoles. A child "carry his father title" if he is legitimate, if his father recognizes him as his son, or if his father is away or dead or otherwise unable to object. An illegitimate child generally carries his mother's title, but he may choose to use his mother's or father's first name as his title. Often a mother gives the child his father's first name as a title, "so he know he father." A popular story tells how the founder of a prominent local family was the supposed issue of a union between a senior official and a servant girl. The father (so the story says) refused to acknowledge the child, so the girl gave the baby the father's first name as his first name, and the father's well-known middle name as the child's title. Sometimes an illegitimate child, when grown, will legally change his title to that of his supposed father, much to the irritation of the father's family.

Legitimate children often use their mother's, rather than their father's title, particularly if their mother's family is well-known, and/or they dislike their father or his family. It is common for a family of brothers each to use a different title. Really accurate legitimacy statistics are further complicated by the fact that any child who is born to a married woman is considered legitimate, even if the woman's husband is not the father of the child. Unions both legal and non-legal tend to be impermanent, and since there are no divorce laws in St. Lucia, the separating married couples merely take on new common-law mates.

There are at least four kinds of mating in St. Lucia:

(1) Legal marriage, whether civil or religious, can be of two kinds: 'In Community' where each party owns 50 per cent of the goods, which are in practice held in common; and 'Under Contract' where the ownership is specified before marriage in a pre-marital agreement. Since 93 per cent of the St. Lucians are Roman Catholics, and almost all the rest are affiliated with other denominations, civil marriages are rare (9 p. XXXIX),

^aCecil E. Hewlett (personal communication).

(2) The second is *ka weste* (living with), *wete* (staying), or *fam a kay* (woman in the house), the family-sanctioned, socially-sanctioned, usually monogamous union without legal or religious standing. This institution is widespread throughout the Negro New World under various names.^a In St. Lucia it has two forms: where a man provides the woman and their children with a home and a livelihood; where the man visits the woman with her parents' consent in the parents' home, and contributes to the support of the children. The second form is sometimes termed *fam li* (his woman). These unions may last throughout a lifetime, but as elsewhere, they tend to be impermanent, especially the second variety.

(3) The third union is simple polygyny. A married or unmarried man keeps one or more *jabal* (mistresses) in separate homes, and supports the children, who often bear his name. In a few cases two women share the same house, and sometimes the wife and *jabal* are good friends, and their children, half-sisters and half-brothers, play together.

The *jabal* institution is particularly widespread among middle-class Castrians and the country planters, whether white or coloured. The white population of St. Lucia is less than one half of 1 per cent (9 p. XXIV), so that there is a shortage of eligible white women. Respectable middle-class women are sometimes *jabals*, and they and their children appear to suffer little, if any, stigma, except that the *jabal* cannot take Communion.

(4) The fourth form of mating is the casual relationship without family or social sanctions. These unions may be only one contact, or may last for a year or more, later becoming a *jabal* or *ka weste* relationship. Children resulting from them are termed 'outside children,' and commonly take the father's first name, or mother's first or last names as their title. This relationship is regarded less favourably than the other forms, especially if the identity of the father is unknown, but the children suffer no disabilities. Although there is a certain amount of ribaldry connected with these casual unions, they are clearly distinguished from prostitution, and "*jamet*" (prostitutes) are despised.

A St. Lucian child then has three first names at birth, and a choice of any one of four last names. It is common for him to use each of his three first names indiscriminately, so that one day he is John and the next day Joseph, or John at home and Joseph at primary school, but Frank when he goes to secondary school. He also may change his last name in the course of his life. If he is legitimate and his parents separate, he may use his mother's title, or the title of her new mate. If he is illegitimate and registered under his mother's title, his mother may marry his father, so that he would be automatically legitimized and change to his father's title. Or in adulthood he may legally change his name to that of his father. His mother without marrying his father, may marry another man whose title he might take. Or if he

^ae.g., Brazil, *amasiado* or *mancebado*; Trinidad, 'keepers', 'friending' or 'living in sin'; Haiti, *placage*; Jamaica, 'friending'; Bahamas, 'sweethearts' (3, 6, 8). For a discussion of the institution in St. Lucia over 100 years ago, see Henry H. Breen, (1, pp. 239-242).

has been using his father's first name as his title, and his father is dead or has been living outside St. Lucia for many years and is forgotten, he may choose to use his mother's title or his mother's first name as his title. The mother's first name used as a title is more common in country districts than in Castries, but even there it is used as a simple means of identification, if not as a formal title. There is still another mechanism by which a title can be acquired. The wife of a man named Phillip St. Omer would be known as Ma (Madame in Creole) Phillip to her close friends and servants. Her children would be called Iona Ma Phillip, Neville Ma Phillip, etc., or simply Neville Phillip. Elsie Clews Parsons' proverb informant, Mr. M. P. V. Elivique of Castries, provides an example of name-changing (7, p. 467). He discovered in middle age that his title was not his father's title, but his *no sud* or nickname. The real title of his father was St. Rose, so Mr. Elivique and his brothers dropped Elivique and took up St. Rose as their title. Many St. Lucians are uncertain about which of their names is their 'proper' title.

As a child grows up, he gets still more names. Around his home or among his childhood friends he may be given a *no savan* or 'bush name', usually something diminutive such as *Ti Son* (little boy), *Gwo Son*, (big boy), or 'Bwoy' or 'Dado'. These may remain throughout life, so that many St. Lucians living in New York have anglicized their *no savan* of *Ti Son* to 'Tyson', used as a legal first name.

In later life a child may get still another name, called a *no sud* or pseudonym, often descriptive of one's tastes or exploits, such as Cocoa Tea, Sweet Drinks, Sip Sip, *Vye Kano* ('old boat'), or Asthma. Sometimes the *no sud* is an elegant foreign name such as Morrison. Both the *no sud* and the *no savan* are translated by 'nickname' or 'alias,' and both may last throughout a lifetime as first names. A third opportunity for a new name is provided by the Sacrament of Confirmation, usually administered when a child is about 12 years old. The child has a choice of a saint's name to add to his other names, the saint to act as a patron. It is not customary in St. Lucia to use this Confirmation name as a first name.

There is considerable latitude in the creation, combination and usages of both first and last names. This tradition stems first of all from West Africa, where each person bears many names, where names are kept secret so that they cannot be used for magical purposes, and where names are changed in the course of life to conform with one's change of status(2). St. Lucians explain their frequent name changes as justified because: "I ain't want the government to know me business," and also because the knowledge of a 'real' or 'proper' name makes it possible for an enemy to "work obeah" or *zeb* or *chembua* against one. Obeah activities are widespread in St. Lucia and are generally feared.^a

A second source of this attitude towards names is the period of emanci-

^aCf. Henry H. Breen (1, pp. 249-255) for a description of obeah practices in St. Lucia in 1844. The Creole idiom is *yo jue a su mwe* (they played on me).

pation, when the ex-slaves chose their titles. Some of these were the aristocratic French names of former owners, such as La Corbiniere; others came from the name of estates, such as Mondesir or Monplaisir; others were adapted from the first name of one's father, such as Jean-Pierre or Mathurin; others were taken from patron saints, such as St. Helene, St. Omer, or St. Rose; still others were simply made up. Breen, writing in a period immediately following slavery, notes the process:

"... there are few persons in the island that are not designated by any name but their own. Some have the *sobriquets* of *Moncoq*, *Montout*, *Fanfan*, *Laguerre*, ... whilst a greater number, dropping altogether the names given them at the baptismal font, have adopted others of more modern vogue ... what is still more preposterous, not only are the Christian names altered in this way, but the patronymics of many are entirely suppressed. M. Jean Marie Beauregard considers Jean Marie too vulgar, and adopts the name of Alfred; and his friends consider Beauregard too long, and omit it all-together in their dealings with him. By this process M. Jean Marie Beauregard is metamorphosed into plain M. Alfred; and his wife, if any he have, goes by the style and title of Madame Alfred" (1, pp. 186-8).

These attitudes toward names still continue in contemporary St. Lucia. There are a great many hyphenated names from both French and British sources. Many middle-class men follow the Victorian custom of using three initials, since after all they have three first names. Others use a first name and two initials before the last name. There is also a tendency to have repetitive or alliterative names similar to the Scottish and Welsh custom of names like Owen Owens and Arthur McArthur. St. Lucian examples are Theophilus Theophile, Joseph Joseph, Edwardlin Edward, Fatal Fatal, Felicia Phillip, Trimilia Trim, and Epiphane Fanfan. But by far the greatest number of last names in St. Lucia were originally first names, such as Auguste, Augustin, Francois, Francis, Charles, Henry, Joseph, George, William, Peter, Paul, James, and John.

Surprisingly little confusion results in everyday life from these naming customs. The St. Lucian community is still small enough and inter-related, so that most people are known by sight to each other, if not always by name. In trying to place Modeste Alexandre, it is easy to mention that he is a fisherman in Choiseul, and a cousin of Joseph Victorin. This is adequate in everyday life, but in business and legal activities it creates "a set of confusion."

Quoting from Breen again:

"... when the Commissioners of Compensation (for freed slaves) were about to adjudicate upon the claims and counter claims from St. Lucia, scarcely a single individual could be found to have invariably preserved his *proper* name in the different documents submitted on his behalf. Difficulty and delay were the result; and many persons only succeeded in establishing their identity and securing their fortunes, by obtaining affidavits, certificates of baptism, and notarial attestations, at considerable expense, from various parts of the world" (1).

Evidently the looseness of name usage existed among the slave-owning planters as well as among the recently freed slaves. In modern St. Lucia, the law courts in particular suffer from the indefiniteness concerning names. One lawyer estimated that one third of the Court's time was taken up in establishing the identities of the plaintiff and the defendant. There is also

a good deal of difficulty in mail delivery. The following excerpt is from a letter received by the office of the University College of the West Indies in St. Lucia:

"... your letters delays in the post was that it was badly addressed. My name is Andrew Tarris. My father name is Tarris Louis. Therefore some people call me Louis and my alias, Lazarus. So please next will you put my address Andrew Tarris for me, and I sure to receive it on time . . . I end at this. Accept my regard".

Yours,

Andrew Tarris

The names have been changed to protect the informant, but the variations in spelling the name of Tarris or Tarris are the same as in the original letter.

There seems to be no tendency toward more rigid naming patterns in contemporary St. Lucia. These customs not only have the sanction of several traditions behind them, but they provide an effective means of passive resistance to unpopular, or unsympathetic administrative influences, political, religious, and legal.

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A Note On The Relationship Between Illegitimacy And The Birthrate

By

D. IBBERSON

A newspaper article recently observed that population has taken the place in West Indian conversation held by the weather in England. This burning question is apt to bring up that of the sexual pattern of the masses and its effect on fertility; statements that irresponsible parenthood, promiscuity, illegitimacy, etc. contribute to raise the birthrate are often heard, the inference being that the general acceptance of marriage as a basis for the family would have a restraining effect on reproduction.

The last census (Jamaica 1943; other territories, 1946) points to exactly the opposite conclusion, indicating that married women are more rarely childless than those living in common-law unions, bear a higher average number of children and that a higher proportion of their children are found surviving at a given point of time.

It is not intended in this article to question the desirability of marriage; the statement in the Jamaican census that it produces a settled population, encourages thrift and is "the condition most conducive to the caring of a family" is fully accepted. The point made is that, on the available evidence, the restriction of illegitimacy will not solve or even mitigate the population problem, which must be approached by way of concern for the unborn child in whatever conjugal condition conceived.

The statistics quoted are from the Jamaican census unless otherwise stated (1).

Promiscuity

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines "promiscuous sexual relations" as "unrestricted by marriage or cohabitation". A promiscuous woman is therefore one who is sexually uninhibited. There is no information as to how many West Indian women are promiscuous. They include prostitutes, whose profession demands that they should take contraceptive measures, and who also may, in these territories where the writer is informed that untreated gonorrhoea is prevalent, become sterile through multiple infection of the Fallopian tubes.

It has sometimes been suggested that polygamy and promiscuous intercourse are inimical to human fertility, and this was, indeed, a stock reason given in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the failure of slaves in most territories, including the West Indies, to maintain their numbers. Mathieson

quotes a reference to "depopulating promiscuous intercourse" (2)^a. The contrast with the middle states of North America where the slaves bred freely enough to permit of a large internal slave trade was never satisfactorily explained.

The present writer finds no authority to do more than mention the obvious fact that any promiscuous woman runs the risk of contracting disease, and that the absence of strong affectional ties would render abortion particularly likely. There seems at least no reason to suppose that the non-venal promiscuous are especially fertile.

The main question examined is the relative fertility of women who declared themselves to the census enumerators as married and unmarried.

Classification of mothers

Mothers are classified in the census as Single, Common-law, Married, Widowed and Divorced. Rather more information, e.g. as to childless women, may be found in some of the later West Indian censuses than in the Jamaican one.

Length of common-law unions

The Barbados census states that 48.3 per cent of common-law unions were declared to have lasted under 5 years, and that even so there was a tendency to overstate the duration when short. The median duration was 5 years; 27.9 per cent were declared to have lasted 10 years or more. In the Leeward Islands 55.5 per cent were declared to be of less than 5 years duration and the median duration was under 5 years. For males aged 55-64 it was 7.8 years.^b Since the period of female fertility is regarded as 30 years (from age 15-45) many common-law mothers presumably have spells of 'single life', which may be of considerable length between and after periods of cohabitation. The average exposure of common-law mothers to the risk of fecundation is therefore generally considered to be less than that of married mothers (see Registrar-General's comment. p. 97).

Single mothers

Of 'Single' mothers the Jamaican census says: "This intimate relationship" (cohabitation) "sometimes relatively fixed, more often for a short period of life only, was enumerated in the census as 'Common-law wife or husband' or 'Single'". The Chief Statistician states^c that the factor determining classification was the woman's own declaration to the enumerator.

The reasons for a 'Single' declaration might range from a woman's brief quarrel with her cohabitee to cases, said by a recent investigator^d to be surprisingly numerous, of women who, after bearing one, or sometimes two children, make no further use of their sexuality.

^aThe quotation seems to be from Sir Henry de la Beche, *Notes on the Condition of the Negroes*, describing a year's residence on his estates in Jamaica in 1823.

^bThere is no information in the census as to completed periods of cohabitation.

^cVerbal communication.

^dObservation by Dr. Stykos to the Chief Statistician, reported verbally.

The census shows that in Jamaica:

- (1) Single mothers outnumber common-law at all ages and overwhelmingly so at 15-29 years, where they also exceed married mothers. Their numbers are well sustained in the '45 years and over' group;
- (2) Of mothers with one child, the single greatly outnumber other groups, e.g. Jamaican census: Single, 27,959, Common-law 12,912, Married 13,951. As the number of children increases, the proportion of single mothers declines;
- (3) Single mothers average 2.7 children as compared with 3.6 for common-law mothers;
- (4) Single mothers' children survive better than those of common-law mothers;
- (5) Single women earn better wages than common-law women (see Table on p. 99.) This is no doubt reflected in their respective earnings as mothers*;
- (6) Common-law women are associated with men who show the lowest earnings of any conjugal group;
- (7) Common-law status is strongly associated with bad housing. (See Jamaican census, Chap. 3 Statement 6).

It may be surmised that single mothers include:

- (a) in the younger age groups —
 - (i) girls and young women who bear a child or children before starting to cohabit;
 - (ii) those who bear a child or children before marrying;
 - (iii) those who bear a child or children and do not marry or cohabit afterwards.

Groups (ii) and (iii) will include girls of superior status who have broken the pattern of their class by childbearing outside of marriage.
- (b) women, including kept mistresses, bearing children to a man who visits them in a continuing relationship without cohabiting;^b
- (c) women in the intervals between common-law unions;
- (d) in the older groups, women who continue as heads of households after their cohabitees have left them or died.

While some of these groups overlap and the relative size of the constituents is not known, there is nothing to contradict the Registrar-General's assumption that women who are at some stage in a career of cohabitation preponderate. The West Indian census creates an illuminating picture for some purposes by classing single and common-law mothers together as "Never legally married" (4).

Since both cohabitation and single motherhood are in an unknown number of cases followed by marriage, the groups classified by the census are not clear-cut and the strict determination of fertility according to conjugal con-

*R. T. Smith (3) points out that as cohabiting women grow older they often develop an occupation and become heads of households from which the male partners have disappeared through death or desertion. These 'single' women no doubt include many of the prosperous higgler class, of which women constitute, for example, 82.8 per cent in Jamaica (1, p.167).

^bCalled 'friending' in Trinidad.

dition is not possible. The apparently high fertility of widows is also remarkable; it exceeds that of married women in four out of six territories (See first Table on p. 98). It is understood that fertility is one of the subjects receiving special attention in connection with the next census.

There is room for sociological as well as statistical study of motherhood. Factors limiting fertility in the 'Never married' classes would repay study and would no doubt include abortion which is often mentioned in early literature.

All conjugal conditions

Comparing all conjugal conditions, the Jamaican census gives the following tables:

Chapter 3, Statement 1

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF MOTHERS BY AGE-GROUPS

Conjugal Condition	Total	Aged 15-29	30-44	45 and over
All	258,842	74,352	94,119	90,371
Single	85,501	33,535	26,501	25,453
Common-law	55,227	24,404	24,842	5,981
Married	92,029	16,092	39,720	36,217
Widowed or Divorced	26,085	318	3,047	22,720

This can alternatively be presented as follows:

Conjugal Condition	Total	Aged 15-29	30-44	45 and over
(1) Mothers never married	140,725	57,942	60,343	31,434
(2) Mothers married at some time	118,114	16,410	42,717	68,937

Group (2) increases with advancing age and from age 45 onwards exceeds group (1) by almost two to one.

Many mothers are known to transfer into the Married group up to late ages. The Single group, however, remains very substantial and wastage is no doubt partly compensated by the dissolution of common-law unions, as indicated above. The Common-law group loses to both other groups.

Extract from Table 40

FEMALE POPULATION OF 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER CLASSIFIED BY CONJUGAL CONDITION AND BY NUMBER OF MOTHERS ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN.

Conjugal condition	Total mothers	Number of children born				
		1	4	6	12	16 and over
Single	85,528	27,951	7,997	4,496	577	109
Common-law	55,231	12,912	6,117	3,730	502	95
Married	92,042	13,951	8,916	7,281	2,661	873
Widowed	25,664	2,883	2,246	2,126	1,068	428
Divorced	423	100	48	84	8	1

'Mothers married at some time' exceed the sum of unmarried mothers from the 6-child group onwards and preponderate overwhelmingly in the highest groups. It is upon this Table and the next that the claim to superior fertility in the married principally rests.

Chapter 3, Statement 2

CHILDREN BORN TO MOTHERS 15-45 YEARS OF AGE CLASSIFIED
BY CONJUGAL CONDITION OF MOTHERS

Conjugal condition	Percentage of all children	Average number of children born to each
Single	26.2	2.7
Common-law	29.4 (55.6)	3.6
Married	41.8	4.7*
Widowed	2.5	4.9
Divorced	0.1 (44.4)	3.0

*The Registrar-General comments: "As is to be expected, the average number of children born to married mothers (excluding widows) is considerably higher than the average number born to common-law mothers and single mothers".

A comparison may be made with the Barbados figures (West Indian Census (4):

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN BORN BY CONJUGAL CONDITION OF MOTHER

Conjugal condition	Mothers aged 15-44	Mothers aged 45 and over
Single	26.1	25.1
Common-law	15.8 41.9	3.1 28.2
Married	55.3	39.3 71.8
Widowed and Divorced	2.8 58.1	32.5

Statistics relating to women of completed fertility and to numbers of children surviving will be seen in the Tables on p. 98. The children of married mothers show the best survival rate, except for a slight advantage in favour of the common-law group in Jamaica and the Windward Islands. Obvious advantages on the side of the married are superior income, maternal care, housing, and security. It is a commonplace in developed countries that illegitimacy is characterized by relatively high maternal and infant mortality owing to its unfavourable concomitants. The exceptions are not understood.

The following statement is based on Table 40 of the Jamaican census relating to female population 10 years of age and over:

PROPORTION OF CHILDLESS WOMEN

Conjugal condition	Total	Mothers	Non-Mothers	% Non-Mothers
Common-law	72,066	55,231	16,835	23.3
Married	108,371	92,042	16,329	15.0
Widowed	28,636	25,664	2,972	10.3
Divorced	545	423	122	22.3

Figures from other territories relating to childless women of completed fertility (with figures for all women aged 15 or more in brackets) may be deduced from the following Table:

PROPORTION OF MOTHERS PER 100 FEMALES AMONG WOMEN OF COMPLETED FERTILITY

	Single	Common-law	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Barbados (Table 32)	67.74 (47.05)	76.89 (76.19)	85.67 (83.98)	88.19 (87.86)	76.47 (72.22)
Windward Is. (Table 32)	72.45 (47.91)	86.92 (82.56)	90.01 (88.55)	91.37 (90.64)	91.56 (88.95)
Antigua (Table 33)	80.2 (60.8)	85.9 (82.2)	89.2 (86.8)	91.6 (90.6)	100.8 (90.0)

STATISTICS FOR WOMEN AGED 45 AND OVER IN VARIOUS CENSUSES

Conjugal condition	Barbados		Br. Guiana		Average number of children born alive		Leeward Is.		Windward Is.	
	Females	Mothers	Females	Mothers	Females	Mothers	Females	Mothers	Females	Mothers
Single	2.81	4.14	2.62	4.02	3.15	4.23	3.05	4.40	3.32	4.58
Common-law	3.40	4.42	3.80	4.79	4.76	5.41	4.33*	5.16	4.90	6.64
Married	4.80	5.60	4.77*	5.57	5.77	5.32	4.64	5.51	6.14	6.82
Widowed	5.20	5.90	4.70	5.35	} 5.92		4.95	5.54	} 5.82	
Divorced	3.88	5.08	3.97	4.73	} 3.39		3.16	3.78	} 6.40	

*'Married' in British Guiana and 'Common-law' in Trinidad both include marriages according to non-Christian rites, principally Hindu. These were recorded as legal in British Guiana whether recognized or not. The children of marriages not legally registered are described as illegitimate in both territories.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN SURVIVING PER 100 BORN ALIVE

Conjugal condition of mother	Jamaica (Table 41)	Barbados (Table 32)	Br. Guiana (Table 36)	Br. Honduras (Table 25)	Antigua (Table 33)	Trinidad (Table 37)	Windward Is. (Table 32)
Single	71.3	63.6	67.4	65.8	58.6	74.2	74.8
Common-law	73.0	67.5	71.2	62.8	59.2	79.4	77.0
Married	72.7	68.2	76.6	65.7	64.4	80.9	76.4
Widowed	60.3	53.6	60.3	} 58.5		65.0	64.2
Divorced	70.0	65.0	70.6	} 55.1		79.9	70.05

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These tables (on p. 97) indicate that more common-law than married women are childless. The high proportion of mothers among single women of completed fertility is presumably due to the influx of women from dissolved common-law unions.

These tables show mothers who are or have been married as bearing a larger number of children each than the unmarried. This appears to link up with the high fertility of East Indians in Trinidad (2.13 per cent over the last 15 years compared with 1.07 for other groups) and British Guiana (2.97 per cent compared with 1.66 per cent) which may be attributable to the general and early marriage of girls with consequent long exposure to fecundation.

Earnings

A table of earnings from the Jamaican census is given below for the sake of relevance to the survival rates of children.

Chapter 3 Statement 5

WAGES OF EARNERS CLASSIFIED BY EARNINGS GROUPS, SEX AND CONJUGAL CONDITION
Percentage

Earnings	Conjugal condition of wage earners									
	Single		Common-law		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Under 6/-	17	49	14	59	9	35	17	48	11	23
6/- under 10/-	24	24	25	28	26	21	22	24	12	14
10/- " 20/-	31	16	39	12	16	20	30	18	19	12
20/- " 40/-	16	6	18	1	21	11	16	4	9	14
40/- " 60/-	6	3	3	v. small	10	8	6	3	9	18
60/- " 80/-	2	1	1	do.	6	3	3	1	12	10
80/- " 100/-	1	1	v. small	—	3	1	2	1	7	4
100/ and over	3	—	do.	—	9	1	4	1	21	5

Women in the common-law group not only have the lowest earnings but are associated with the lowest-earning group of males.

11 per cent of single women and 24 per cent of married women but only 1 per cent in the common-law group earn 20/- per week or more.

Conclusions

- (1) The majority of all children are born to women while unmarried.
- (2) Women recorded as married give birth to a higher average number of children each than the unmarried.
- (3) The children of the married have better survival prospects.
- (4) Married women are less often childless than common-law women.
- (5) There is no evidence to show that promiscuity results in increased fertility, and some evidence exists to the contrary.

It therefore appears that increased acceptance of marriage by women at young ages would, in present conditions, raise the birth rate.

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BOOK REVIEW

Your Health in the Caribbean. By Dr. W. E. McCulloch. The Pioneer Press, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., 1955. 145 pp.

"The aim of this book", the foreword states, "is to help those who do not know how to live a healthy life in the West Indies . . . Tropical environments place extra stresses and strains on the human being, and it is necessary that we should understand them . . ."

In 17 short chapters, a large variety of subjects are dealt with: climate, diet, child-health, infectious and venereal diseases, parasites, skin affections, water supplies. There are sections on population and social environment, whilst the concluding chapters discuss the relationship between doctor and patient, and answer questions frequently raised in the consulting room.

This pocket-sized book packs within its 145 pages an astonishing amount of facts and figures. And yet it is by no means a dry exposition of scientific data and medical precepts. It is written in a colloquial and provocative style. The author's professional experience in West Africa and Jamaica and, above all, a mind with wide interests and definite opinions are reflected on every page. The book, in fact, represents the result of a life-time spent in medical practice, nutritional research and active concern for the general advancement of the West Indies.

The physical, economic and social factors affecting life and health in the tropics and in the West Indies in particular are explained in a way understandable to the informed layman. Of the several suggestions the author puts forward to improve present conditions and habits, I here quote a few: Buildings should be located with regard to the prevailing wind; fewer windows are necessary but ceilings should be at least ten feet high; each homestead should have a vegetable patch, fruit trees and a rabbit hutch. Open shirts, shorts and no coats are advised for men, and babies are to be relieved of woollen socks and bonnets. Food habits should suit both physiological needs and financial limitations, and children should not be allowed to develop fanciful tastes. The author recommends plenty of sleep, a siesta and a six-hour working day. With regard to medical matters, the present craze for vitamins and the blind belief in injections is condemned, as is the undue concern with blood pressure, high or low. These latter remarks alone recommend the book for the widest distribution, at least in the eyes of this reviewer, a fellow practitioner. The notion "once malaria always malaria" is another ghost to be laid, perhaps in a subsequent edition.

The readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the author's description of social and economic conditions prevailing in the West Indies. The picture he draws is grim: Low standards of living and of social welfare,

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widespread unemployment and semi-starvation, inefficient agricultural methods, a high birthrate perpetuating an already excessive population; on the social side, lack of homogeneity and national consciousness. As to the dominant traits of the West Indian today, he stresses, in common with Prof. Simey, the feeling of insecurity, over-sensitivity and, above all, aggressiveness. He finds colour consciousness and prejudice and the chase after material advancement (in the absence of other values) creating a state of chronic anxiety and continual suspicion of the motives of others. It is this social environment which, he considers, is responsible for a great amount of ill-health and ill-conduct. However, he sees signs of impending changes for the better, such as the exemplary conduct of the large majority of the population of Jamaica in the 1951 hurricane. He makes no mention of the recent emergence of political leaders of stature and the setting-out on the road to self-government.

To criticize the selection of subjects, to search for simplifications, over-statements or omissions would not do justice to a book like this. It stands or falls by the lessons it drives home. And in this respect, "Your Health in the Caribbean" scores well.

H. Stamm.

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(Notes on the contributors to the Symposium on the Hicks Report appear in the prelude to the Symposium).

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The Transformation of Land Rights by Transmission in Carriacou

By

M. G. SMITH

Two highly distinct systems of land tenure are to be found side by side in many British Caribbean societies. One system is defined by statute and common law, and guides official policy in relation to land. The other system, which has recently been described for Jamaica by Miss Edith Clarke (1), is of a customary and traditional character which neither observes the forms nor directly invites the sanctions of law. These differing systems of tenure are normally practised by different social sections, and for holdings of disparate value.

In the present paper I shall show how the official, legal system of tenure has been transformed in one instance into its rival, the customary system. I shall also attempt to isolate and define the most important conditions of this change, and the forces which gave it form. Starting with a situation in which all persons holding land in a given area were officially provided with legally valid titles, I want to show how it has come about that many occupants presently hold land without such title, and to estimate the number of such occupancies. Further, since this change over from legal to customary tenure has proceeded by the transmission of rights to land in the area, I shall devote special attention to these processes of transmission, their contexts and conditions.

To these ends I present below a detailed account of land-holding and transfer on a Government Land Settlement at Harvey Vale in the island of Carriacou. The data on which this account is based consist of field and official records of all land-transfers and occupancies on 77 of the 79 allotments of the Settlement, for the period 1904 to 1954. This record of occupancy and transmission is tied to a detailed genealogy of the family lines involved in each allotment. The method is thus essentially a case-study, but here it is applied to an area, the Settlement, on the one hand, and to a population, the allottees and their successors, on the other.^a

When systems of land tenure are conceived in static terms, only formal analyses are possible, and these must centre on the prevailing classification and distribution of types of right. But of themselves such analyses cannot

^aThe fieldwork reported here was carried out at Harvey Vale in November, 1953, with the assistance of Mr. F. A. Phillips, then District Officer, Carriacou. I am happy to acknowledge here the considerable help which I received from Mr. Phillips during my study of the island.

provide a complete understanding of the bases and functions of the systems concerned. To achieve this, it is first necessary to focus attention on the ways in which rights are transmitted before proceeding to the forms of right themselves. This is obvious, since the form of a right is the product of the process by which it developed, that is, the transmitted effect.

CARRIACOU

Carriacou, with an area of 13 square miles is the largest of the Grenadines, the chain of rocks and islets stretching over the 60 miles between St. Vincent and Grenada. The island lies about 23 miles north-east of Grenada, and is now administered as a Dependency of the Government of Grenada by a resident District Officer, and, formerly, by a District Commissioner who exercised magisterial powers. Under Grenadian law, however, issues affecting the possession or ownership of land are beyond the scope of magisterial powers and must be referred to the High Court which meets in St. George's, Grenada, the colony capital, about 40 miles by sea from Carriacou.

Carriacou differs from Grenada climatically and socially more than its proximity would seem to make probable. Grenada, with its steep slopes, has a high rainfall, and produces considerable quantities of nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, cocoa and copra for export. Dense rain-forests of timber and food-trees are characteristic of its high interior. Carriacou, with no land over 1,000 feet high, has a far lower rainfall than Grenada, together with a shorter and more irregular rainy season. Breadfruit, 'bluggo' (a variety of plantain, *Musa paradaisica*), avocado pear, yam, dasheen, and other Grenadian food staples are almost entirely lacking in Carriacou, together with cocoa and the export spices. Instead, the Carriacou people farm maize, pigeon peas, and sea-island cotton, and rear considerable numbers of stock. Men are heavily engaged in fishing and sailing, and work overseas for periods of varying length.

These differences of economy between Grenada and Carriacou are paralleled by differences in the two societies. In 1953 there were over 100 working estates of more than 100 acres each in Grenada, but none in Carriacou. Equally important, the cleavage between folk and elite which is so characteristic of Grenada is completely absent from Carriacou, the population of which practises a common culture, in certain respects similar to that of the Grenadian folk.^a

According to the 1946 Census, the population of Carriacou was then approximately 6,700 (2). At that time, too, there were over 1,200 natives of Carriacou living in Trinidad, more than 1,000 of them having been there since 1941 (3). It is generally accepted that a high proportion of the natives of Carriacou are absent from the island at any time. The 1946 Census also re-

^aThe sociology of Carriacou was investigated as part of a study of Grenadian society and culture; comparison of the two societies is instructive. A monograph account of Carriacou has been prepared for publication under the title *Kinship and Community in Carriacou*. Certain aspects of the system of land tenure which receive scant attention in this paper are discussed at greater length in the monograph.

ports that there were 1,366 farms and small plots in Carriacou at that time, 249 of these being less than one acre in extent. The total number of holdings composing these 1,366 farms amounted to 2,571, or on average, 2.30 holdings per farm, with one farm to every 4.9 residents (4).

In Carriacou the most important kinship units are individual families and larger groups of kinsfolk who trace relationship to one another through males, commonly to a depth of three or four generations. This larger patrilineal group is known locally as a 'blood', and normally most male members of such a group have a common surname. But even if a child does not receive its father's name, it takes its 'blood' from him, and is a member of the lineage to which he belongs. In Carriacou, patrilineal descent is of importance in the inheritance of land as well as the transmission of status and lineage membership.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LAND SETTLEMENT

During the sugar centuries Harvey Vale was a flourishing estate, but towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, it ceased to operate as a cane plantation, and after a brief period of *metayage*, was taken over by the Government of Grenada in 1892, and prepared for allocation to the land-hungry folk of the area under the contemporary conventions of land settlement. In 1904 the estate totalled 331 acres, 2 roods, and 30 perches. It is situated at the western end of the island, and consists almost entirely of flat land, only the most inward sections which lie on the lower slopes of the island-spine having gradients of 15 degrees or more.

In 1904 a total of 252 acres, 2 roods and 4 perches were subdivided by Government for distribution in 79 allotments. The map attached presents the settlement lay-out, and system of plot-referencing used here, together with a schematic picture of the distribution and relative sizes of all occupancies on these plots at the time of the survey.^a It was the aim of our field enquiries to make a complete census of the allotments at Harvey Vale, but due to an unfortunate oversight no information was collected about two of the plots and their owners.

The Official Allocation

Plots were allocated at an average price of £10 per acre, payable by annual instalments over a period of 12-15 years. An initial deposit was also required. On completion of payment, the allottee or his heir was given a diagram of his allotment, together with a deed of ownership by Government in accordance with legal requirements. Until an allotment had been fully paid for, the allottee was required to obtain permission from Government before he could sell any portion of his holding. On the completion of payment, this restriction lapsed. Administration of the scheme included certain

^aAlthough the areas of separate occupancy on each plot are correctly represented for 1953 by number and size, no attempt has been made to reproduce their spatial relations exactly on the map.

other types of supervision, and forfeitures for infraction of certain policy rules, or for failure to pay the annual instalments, occurred in 6 cases, 3 in 1908, and the remainder in 1910. By 1920, the majority of the plots had been fully paid for, and title deeds were held by the allottees or their successors.

The 79 allotments varied in size as follows: 1 plot was less than 2 acres, 23 plots ranged between 2 and 2½ acres, 7 between 2½ and 3 acres, 16 plots between 3 and 3½ acres, 19 between 3½ and 4 acres, 5 between 4 and 4½ acres, 6 between 4½ and 5 acres, while 1 plot was over 5 acres but less than 5½, and another, plot 20, was over 6 acres when allocated.

During 1904, 59 of the 79 plots were allotted. Between 1905 and 1911, the remaining 20 plots were distributed. Of these later allocations, 6 plots lay on the inland hill-slopes, and another 4 contained flood-water courses, which have since been considerably enlarged. Delays in the remaining 10 later allocations must be attributed either to government policy, or to lack of suitable purchasers near the Settlement. Most of the allottees lived on the borders of the former estate in the villages of Belmont, Bellevue South, and Six Roads, as well as the village at Harvey Vale itself.

Of the final allottees, 11 were women, 68 men. All 6 forfeitures involved male allottees. Of the female allottees, 7 were independent purchasers. In 2 cases the real purchasers were the women's fathers; in one the woman had a female partner; and in another, the woman's husband had also taken a plot in his own name with the ostensible intention of partnership with his wife, in both their plots, a plan that broke down when the marriage later dissolved, each spouse then holding his or her own.

Administrative supervision of the holdings does not appear to have included promotion of planned land use, but was focused on the prevention of speculation in land on the Settlement. Tax payment was enforced where necessary by putting up for sale those allotments for which tax was overdue.

The Actual Allocation: (a) Partnership

There are important differences between the initial allocation as registered in Government files, and the distribution of plots which actually occurred. These differences mainly reflect the operation of two principles and types of relation among the allottees, partnership and kinship, both of which also involve disguised purchases.

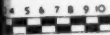
A total of 15 partnerships, none of which was officially recorded, were involved in the initial allocation. Of these 9 have since been acknowledged without dispute by the parties involved or their heirs; 3 partnerships are alleged on one side to have been established when Government first distributed the allotments, but these claims are contested by the other side, although so far without litigation arising; in the 3 remaining cases, conflicting allegations about initial partnership have led to disputes, litigation, and may well continue to do so.

Apart from these unrecorded partnerships, and those cases in which allot-

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ments were made to women who were not the real purchasers, 11 disguised purchases were effected at the initial allocation. Of these, 10 were cases in which the real purchasers were the allottees' fathers, and in more than half of these cases these older men already had plots of their own, often in their own name on the Settlement at Harvey Vale.

The 15 partnerships varied in constitution as follows: between spouses or kin within the range of first ortho-cousins, 8; between persons linked indirectly to one another through mating relations, 3, of which 2 have already given rise to long disputes; between persons not linked by kinship or affinity in any way, 4, in 2 of these cases the partners being male, in 1 case a man and a woman forming the partnership, and in the fourth case, which has also produced disputes, the partners being 2 women. From this record it is clear that harmonious partnerships most commonly develop between people who are either close kin or are already married to one another.

When these 15 partnerships are taken into account, the number of allocations actually effected by official action becomes 94 for the settlement as a whole; but of these we only have information on 92.

The normal arrangements of partnership involved sharing the plot and its cost equally; similarly, although tax continued to be paid in the name of the registered allottee, each partner contributed in proportion to his share. On the day which followed its official allocation, the partners subdivided the plot, after a rough unofficial survey. Certain boundary marks were planted then or shortly after. In only 3 of the 15 cases, were plots divided unequally between the partners to their purchase; since contributions toward purchase and tax-payment varied proportionally, and the partners were close kin, none of these cases of unequal division has given rise to dispute. In 2 of these 3 cases, the registered purchaser had for partner an individual who already held one of the plots on the Settlement in his own name.

Various types of device were used to record the partnerships. In 5 cases the registered purchaser made a will which recorded the partnership, and formally transferred rights in half the plot to the partner and his heirs; but generally transfer by will was linked to some statement which limited the partner's rights of sale to the descendants of the registered purchaser, and froze the price at the level of the original purchase from Government. In 3 cases the registered purchaser went through the formality of arranging the sale of a share of the plot to his partner with official permission and record. In such a way the informal partnership was terminated, and the informal subdivision of the plot between the partners was later made official. In other words, partnership ceases when it is ratified officially in accordance with the forms of law.

In three cases of partnership between spouses, no record of the partnership exists either in the Settlement files or in the form of a will, though the land has since come under inheritance. In another case of partnership between two unrelated women, one, who was married, asked her husband, who held

another allotment in his own name, to dispose of the portion under her partnership in his will. This has since given rise to some dispute among the heirs of the two women initially concerned in the partnership, as there is no official record that the woman whose husband's will transmits rights in this plot had any claim in her lifetime to its ownership. But the case shows how wills may be used to register the fact of partnership by persons whose claims are otherwise unrecorded, after they have waited in vain for their partners or the latter's heirs to put the relation on record.

Recording the partnership does not of itself prevent disputes arising, except where such recording, as in the case of sham sale under official permit, terminates the partnership in effect. 2 of the 5 cases in which wills have been used to record partnerships and transfer land-rights to the unregistered partners or their heirs have been followed by disputes among the parties concerned. In none of the cases in which the partnerships have remained completely unrecorded has any dispute developed. Since, with only one exception, all these unrecorded partnerships involve people who are close kin or spouses of one another, and partnership runs smoothly within the context of these basic institutional relations, nothing is gained by recording. Rather, it seems that recording of partnership may be attempted after strains have already developed within the partnership, and as often as not leads to an open breach.

This really means that apart from the simple conditions of partnership set out above, there are other less easily formulated notions and norms which govern the relation. Probably the most important of these relate to the reversionary rights which partners or their heirs hold in one another's share of land, and to the limitation which partnership imposes on the price or type of sale. When dealing with land reportedly held in partnership, Government officers in Carriacou act in harmony with these customary notions, as far as conditions permit. Thus, when one heiress to a partnership was unable to meet tax commitments, the District Commissioner sold her plot to the heir of her father's partner. The defaulting heiress announced at once that she would repay her partner's heir, and retake her land, as soon as she was able. The new purchaser raised no objection, but the heiress died childless in Trinidad before paying off the debt, thus leaving him with undisputed right to the entire plot.

Another case which illustrates the way in which the relation of partnership is extended and re-interprets conveyance to conform to the intention of the partnership may be mentioned here. Two men whose mates were full sisters took a plot, 30, in partnership, making the usual rough survey and subdivision on the day after its allocation. Together they paid off the price. To record the partnership, the registered purchaser made a will, in which he allotted half of the plot to his partner in these terms:

"And the 3 acres, 2 roods, 24 poles at Harvey Vale, A.B. possess half of it, if he fail and be unable, the land is to return back to the said owner, no stranger to get

any, my wife or my son are to pay the said amount what I paid for per acre, and to take back the land."

A.B. duly failed during the great depression, and transferred his share back to the sole heir of the deceased purchaser resident in Carriacou at that time for an amount equal to that which had been paid to Government for the land some years before. Time passed, and A.B. desired to recover the land. He then claimed that the sum which he had received for his share of the land more than 10 years previously was made in payment for the lease of the plot at so much per year, and that the lease having now expired, the land was being held by its possessor illegally. The issue went to court in Carriacou in 1944 in that form, but was dismissed by the District Commissioner with the observation that, "if there is a bonafide title to the claim, and the claim is not merely fictitious, the magistrate's jurisdiction is ousted (Stone's Manual)". Later, the same issue was at stake in a case of trespass and assault. This time the presiding magistrate, having established that the cause of the dispute was a claim over land, apparently lent his authority to a settlement of this land claim out of court, under which the mortgagor recovered the share which he had mortgaged without repayment of the mortgage money, the mortgage being mistaken for lease. This settlement thus restored the initial subdivision. The receipt which records the disputed transfer of money makes no mention of any lease, but clearly states that the transaction is a mortgage; but whatever the illegality or injustice of the present settlement, the case illustrates vividly the strength of the folk convention that the initial situation of partnership is binding on the partners and their heirs, even under circumstances where the rights it protects have been surrendered.

The Actual Allocation: (b) Kinship

The second important relation which directed the actual distribution of allotments in a manner contrary to the formal intentions of Government and the record of allocation consists in kinship and marriage among the population receiving allotments. Of the 92 plots concerning which there is detailed information, only 11 were allocated to persons not directly linked by kinship or marriage to other allottees on the Settlement. Of the remaining 81 allocations, 14 were made to persons linked by ties of marriage or uterine kinship to one or other of 13 patrilineages which held the remaining 67 plots between them. One of these patrilineages received 11 plots at the official allocation, and held a partner's claim on yet another, while two or three other lineages numbered 5 allottees each among their members.

The significance of this lineage distribution of allotments for the later history of the Settlement is shown by the fact that of the 24 effective sales made by the allottees or their heirs subsequent to the initial allocation, only 3 have been to strangers, including the Anglican Church which purchased a chapel site by the cemetery. The remaining conveyances have taken place between persons involved in the original allocation, their descendants, or close kin. That is to say, the majority of secondary transfers on the Settlement

have involved re-allocations of holdings between members of the principal land-holding lineages. In the event, it is not surprising to find that lineages favourably placed in the initial distribution have augmented their holdings in the area at the expense of families lacking wide local kinship connections.

ALIENATION AND SECONDARY TRANSFERS

Excluding the initial distribution of plots and the subsequent re-allocations of forfeited holdings by Government, all cases involving sale of Settlement land can be discussed as alienation producing secondary transfers. It was not possible to collect data of comparable detail on the contexts of these sales in all cases, though a good deal of information was gathered on this subject. In discussing these secondary transfers I shall therefore concentrate on the form and record of the sales, the quantities of land transferred, the relations of the parties, and similar matters concerning which coverage was complete.

Secondary transfers are classifiable in terms of the presence or absence of official records, conditions attached to the transfer, or restrictions limiting the range of participants.

Allotment records cover secondary transfers on 11 plots. Transfers not recorded officially affect 19 plots. In 2 cases, although Government put up plots for sale on account of tax defaulting, there is no record of sale in the Settlement files. The number of sales exceeds the number of plots involved whether or not the sales were recorded. Recorded sales on 11 plots number 16. Unrecorded sales on 19 plots amount to 22.

Of the recorded sales, as mentioned above, 3 are disguised registrations of partnership; 1 was a conditional gift of 24 perches to the holder's daughter's husband, and was revoked by the donor when the transferee married after the death of his wife. Only 2 recorded sales transferred undivided plots, and all the rest lacked both survey and diagrams of the area transferred.

Of the 22 unrecorded sales, only 12 can be regarded as effective transfers to a person otherwise lacking claim of some kind. In 2 of the remaining 10 cases, certain co-heirs redeemed mortgaged land to recover their inheritance. In 4 cases co-heirs conveyed land to one another. One case masks transfer under an alleged partnership. Another, in which a resident heiress disposed of almost all the holding under an alleged but invisible will, was later revoked as a sale without right by the Court to which the issue was brought, when certain co-heirs returned from oversea. In the two remaining cases lawyers sold part of an inheritance (plots 20 and 48) to the heiress's husband and sister's husband on account of unpaid debts. Only 24 of the total of 38 secondary alienations, recorded or other, involved real or effective transfers of right; and only in 3 of these 24 cases have transfers been made to persons not already linked by ties of marriage or close kinship with other land-holders on the Settlement.

Sales are classified as restricted when the range of eligible purchasers is limited by the operation of some systematic principle, such as kinship pre-

ference, or by the reversionary rights of heirs under a partnership. A conditional sale is a transfer on a particular condition, for example, limitation of the purchaser's right of re-sale to the vendor and his heirs only. The purchaser under a conditional sale may or may not be drawn from a restricted range of persons. A *real* or *effective* transfer of rights in land takes place when the parties are not linked by other relations such as kinship, affinity, or partnership, which entail claims to the land conveyed, either previously, or at the time of transfer, or in the future, under inheritance.

Real transfers of right are typically effected by the folk of Harvey Vale through sales which are both unconditional and unrestricted. When external bodies, such as Government or lawyers acting with judicial sanction, initiate such transfers to recover tax or settle debts, there may be some deviation from folk practice. Under such circumstances it appears that kinship sentiments and claims normally lead kinsfolk to purchase the holding, or that the external agency selling the land prefers to deal with close kin of the defaulting individuals. In either case, what appears formally to be a real transfer of rights is simply a re-allocation among a restricted group of kin.

Conditional sales are normally made to purchasers drawn from a restricted range. Normally the principles which define this range of eligible purchasers are kinship, marriage, affinity, or partnership. Of the total 38 secondary sales, 14 were simultaneously restricted and conditional, the condition in each case limiting the purchaser's power of alienation to the vendor and his heirs. Of these 14 conditional sales within a restricted range, 10 were purely private transactions, while the remainder proceeded by redemptions of mortgages which were only recorded because third parties were involved, in 2 of these 4 cases the third parties being lawyers. Thus, nearly half of the unrecorded transfers of land for money take place between close kin, and contain conditions which prohibit further alienation by the transferee to third parties. These characteristics of folk conveyance, its limiting conditions, restricted range of application, and absence of record, form a single body of custom. In these terms, land should not be sold except to close kin or others already bound by institutional ties to the seller, and then may only be resold by the purchaser to the former holder or his heirs. In such a context, 'sales' are arrangements in good faith which hardly require or permit formal recording.

Such conventions further affect the mode of partition for sale. In no case was secondary transfer preceded by a proper survey, and although rights really shifted between persons in approximately half the number of transfers, the range of such movement being usually restricted by such factors as kinship and the like, and the rights themselves normally of the conditional character discussed above, there was as little point in surveying the land as in registering the transactions themselves. Moreover, the relatively high costs of assistance from Grenadian lawyers or surveyors, there being none resident in Carriacou, must discourage their employment in such small-scale conveyances.

As practised locally, mortgage differs from the conditional sale which prohibits alienation to third parties, principally in that the initiative for recovery under a mortgage rests with the initial holder. Most mortgages do not involve interest, and are hardly distinguishable from pledge. Sometimes, as mentioned above, conditional sales may be retrospectively interpreted by the vendor either as mortgage or lease. Receipts pass for mortgage in much the same way as for sale. Of the 22 unrecorded conveyances, 3 were mortgages, the remainder sale. Of these 19 sales, 3 were handled by lawyers, 5 were effected with receipts, 2 involved re-registration of the plot for tax purposes, and 7 of the remainder were effected without any receipt. Concerning 4 transfers, nothing certain is known on this point, since all the principals concerned were absent from the island. In cases of unrecorded sale, prescriptive rights are not held to be a reasonable ground for the assertion of ownership.

Official records of sale for 9 plots mention their sub-division. The areas transferred were as follows: 1 acre each in 5 cases; 1 acre on two separate occasions for 2 plots; 1 acre and half an acre for 1 plot; and finally, 4 sales over a period of 27 years transferring a total of $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres to a purchaser whose father held a plot on the settlement, but who was not related to the vendor. In this last case, the vendor finally sold the last acre of her allotment to her sister's daughter's son without record.

Of the 19 plots affected by unrecorded sales, 1 was transferred directly as a unit, and another indirectly, when the brother of the childless deceased first holder redeemed the mortgage on it. In the remaining 17 sales, co-heirs transferred $\frac{1}{2}$ acre to one another in two cases, there were 5 transfers of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, 7 of 1 acre, one of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, one of 2 acres, and one of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Of the transfers involving $\frac{1}{2}$ acre and 1 acre, 3 and 5 respectively were made between close kin. The parties to transfers of relatively large areas are usually unrelated.

This record of the areas transferred gives a misleading impression of fragmentation by sale, unless it is supplemented by some information on relations of the parties to one another and to other land-holders on the Settlement. The simplest way to summarize and express the effect of these sales is to compare the actual allocation of plots made initially with the situation produced by these secondary transfers. In place of the 92 landholders by official allocation and partnership, there are now 100 landholders as a result of these 38 secondary transfers. Of the 8 persons who acquired settlement plots by secondary transfer, excluding the Anglican Church, only 2 are not descended from persons already holding plots on the Settlement. It is thus clear that the secondary transfers re-allocate rights in land mainly among the population already established in the Settlement, and that the fragmentation of individual plots in this process will be substantially balanced by the aggregation of claims and holdings among the population concerned.

Apart from receipts, normally stamped and witnessed in a manner which is invalid at law, and excluding also the official record of secondary alienations,

there is another method of seeking to record transfer. This involves re-registration of the area transferred on the tax roll by the transferee or his heirs, in their own name. Such re-registration for tax payment is not legally acceptable evidence of a title to the land, but is regarded by the folk as evidence to assert such title. Consequently, where sales of conditional or restricted character, such as are made by kin or external bodies for debt or tax, are followed by re-registration of the area on the tax roll in the transferee's name, considerable hostility and suspicion is provoked among the former holders and their heirs, as such an act indicates that the possessor conceives his tenure as permanent and unconditional, and is prepared to assert his individual right at law. Such a right, which involves the power to alienate the land to strangers, naturally threatens the reversionary claims of the former holders, which are promptly asserted. Probably reluctance to provoke these reactions is sufficient explanation why only 2 of the 22 unrecorded sales were followed by re-registration on the tax roll.

THE SETTLEMENT AND ITS POPULATION

Population Growth

Forms of land holding, the areas which are involved, and the changes in either pattern develop through the processes by which rights in land are transmitted. These processes of transmission themselves reflect the size of the population in relation to land, its organization, and changes in either variable. It is therefore necessary to consider the demographic situation in detail in order to obtain a thorough understanding of the functions of any system of tenure, the forces which have formed it, and the principles by which it proceeds.

Land neither claims nor inherits people, but the contrary occurs; and the efficacy of one claim against another depends on the social recognition accorded to either. This social recognition in turn reflects cultural conventions about relationships to land in which such variables as sex, age, birth-status, residence, relation to the former holder, mode of transfer, and residual rights of other kin of the former holder are often simultaneously involved. That is to say, the status of any individual claim to land under certain systems of tenure depends directly on the number and type of other claims which are socially recognized.

I shall now proceed to consider the ways in which the process of transmission of land rights at Harvey Vale reflects the growth and organization of the population involved.

All members of the population classified in the following table have claims or rights by descent, marriage, or allocation to portions of the 92 original plots and 8 secondary divisions about which detailed information was obtained. Including these 8 secondary purchases, there are 100 landholders, who may for illustrative purposes be regarded as having had one mate each. As will be shown below, most of these initial holders and a fair proportion of their mates

TABLE 1. PERSONS WITH CLAIMS TO LAND AT HARVEY VALE IN NOVEMBER, 1953,
CLASSIFIED BY SEX, BIRTH-STATUS, AND AREA OF RESIDENCE

					Males	Females	Total
Present in Carriacou							
Legitimate	..	..	..	..	373	427	800
Illegitimate	..	..	..	..	116	141	257
Total	..	..	..	..	489	568	1,057
Absent from Carriacou							
Legitimate	..	..	..	..	228	191	419
Illegitimate	..	..	..	..	67	52	119
Total	..	..	..	..	295	243	538
Grand Total	..	..	..	..	784	811	1,595

are now dead. For the moment we shall treat all these landholders and their mates as having died. On such assumptions, the descendants of these 100 landholders and their mates now number nearly 1,600 persons, after a period of 50 years, or approximately two generations. All of these 1,600 persons have claims of some kind to Settlement land. Some now hold portions in their own right, some are occupants under rights held by others, some have rights which they have not asserted in any form, others have direct claims in their own name. Still others have latent claims which will become rights under inheritance, while the remainder have indirect latent rights, normally on the basis of marriage or affinity. Given such rates of population growth on the one hand, and such distributions of claims and rights on the other, it is neither surprising that inheritance is the most important mode by which land rights are transmitted, nor that the norms and functions of inheritance should be extended to other processes, such as partnership and conveyance, in the nature of limiting conditions. Yet the overwhelming importance of inheritance rights to land among the folk is clearly a function of the social organization of their population and its high rates of increase. The distribution of inheritance is that aspect of the social organization which defines the rights and claims to land associated with relationships of differing kinds.

As will be shown, the population claiming land on the Settlement frequently inter-marry. There were also 40 absentees whose sex distribution could not be ascertained, and who are not included in the preceding table, although having claims on Settlement land. Taking these facts into account, it may be said that the Settlement population has been roughly doubling itself within each of the past two generations. Although this over-simplifies the situation, it probably does not overstate it. A rate of population increase such as this will obviously be of decisive importance in the modes of land distribution and tenure which are practised. But before its impact can be assessed it is necessary to see in what ways it is limited.

In the first place, one-third of the population having claims to Settlement land are absent from the island. Secondly, over one-fifth of the claimants are of illegitimate status. Only one-half of the claimants are both legitimate and

resident in Carriacou. Of these 800 people, the majority are females. Of the 100 initial land-holders, only 11 were women. Clearly, if Carriacou folk practise trusteeship on behalf of absentees with rights or claims, and combine this with a generalized denial of inheritance rights of illegitimate children to their father's land, they will halve the size of the problem of the distribution of rights in land, which faces them as a consequence of their high rates of population increase.

Birth-status and Inheritance Claims

The status of illegitimacy is not always uniformly defined in Carriacou. The local terms distinguishing birth-statuses are 'lawful' and 'unlawful'. Lawful or legitimate issue are those born to parents bound by marriage. Under Grenadian law, the birth of these children may precede their parents' marriage by any period. The Carriacou description of these children as 'lawful' refers not only to the fact that they were born according to the law of marriage, but also to their *prima facie* claims to inherit should their parents die intestate.

When an unmarried man lives with a woman who has children for him, he may distinguish these as his 'lawful' heirs in contrast to those other children of his who are living away from him with their mothers. But the terms normally used to distinguish a man's resident and absent children are 'inside' and 'outside', the reference being to the home where the common father dwells. Only rarely will a man describe his 'inside' children born out of wedlock as 'lawful', and when he does so, the reference is to their priority over his other children in relation to inheritance. Since women normally retain control of both their legitimate and illegitimate children, they do not usually have occasion to distinguish the 'inside' from the 'outside' issue, and therefore use the terms 'lawful' and 'unlawful' for their offspring more consistently than men.

Sometimes a person reports his birth-status, or that of others, to be legitimate, when no marriage took place between the parents. Such errors may be intended or accidental. Where the intention is to mislead, and land-rights are under discussion, the reason is very often that there has been no testamentary disposition of the holding, and the persons reported as 'lawful' would thus lack *prima facie* claims at law, though recognized as heirs under custom. In such circumstances, falsification of birth-status is a device to support certain claims to land, and can be used to discountenance others. Accidental misinformation on this subject occurs when the distinctions between 'inside' and 'outside' children are loosely equated with those between 'lawful' and 'unlawful'.

To guard against these sources of error, genealogical data were collected from three different sets of persons about the great majority of the family lines which hold land on the Settlement, and the correspondence of these genealogies was studied carefully. It therefore seems more likely that the rela-

tively high legitimacy rate of the Settlement population may be due to under-reporting of illegitimate claimants rather than to classification of the 'unlawful' as 'lawful-born'. In such a case, the rate of population growth estimated above must be somewhat on the low side.

Of the 11 female allottees, 5 died unmarried. Of the 89 men who initially acquired land on the Settlement, only 3 remained unwed, and an equal number were twice married. Thus, there is a much greater tendency for male landholders to marry than for females. Quite possibly, ownership of sufficient land to assure women of economic and social independence may reduce their inclinations to marry in Carriacou.

Married persons of either sex frequently have illegitimate offspring also; this is more common for males than females. Either party to a marriage may have had children by others previously, or may do so after the death of their spouse; but only males continue to have such children during marriage itself. Since most Carriacou men marry and also have illegitimate offspring, the inheritance rights of their children of these differing birth-statuses clearly presents a problem. The way in which this problem is normally handled reflects the principal conditions of its context. These conditions involve a far higher reproduction rate within marriage than otherwise, the tendency of wives to survive their husbands, and the tendency towards female occupancy of land. Under these conditions the widow has a greater claim on her husband's estate than the mother of his illegitimate children, and, as she is already settled on the holding, can readily assert this claim. Moreover, widows have rights under intestate inheritance which effectively dispossess the children of their rivals. On the other hand, the mothers of these illegitimate children frequently control plots of their own, or have access to those of their kin. Exclusion of these illegitimate children from inheritance by their father's widow does not therefore produce as much hardship as may be expected.

Marriage and Widowhood

The high valuation of marriage within the native population of Carriacou is shown by the following analysis of the marital status of the total population of absent adults having claims on Settlement land.

TABLE 2. ABSENT ADULT CLAIMANTS, CLASSIFIED BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS, HARVEY VALE, NOVEMBER, 1953.

Sex	Marital Status		Total
	Married	Single	
Males	71	129	200
Females	65	45	110
Total	136	174	310

Although the gross totals of single and married persons in the preceding Table seem to suggest casual attitudes toward marriage, closer study shows

that this is not so. In the first place, the ratio of married persons among the absent female population is twice as high as that found among males. Since in every case except one these women were married to men from Carriacou, and typically to members of the Settlement population, some 60 per cent of female emigration from Carriacou is accounted for by the movement of wives abroad with their husbands, or to join them.

In the second place, two-thirds of the absent adult males are unmarried. The majority of these persons are at present oversea in order to earn sufficient money with which to build a home and rainwater tank, to purchase land, or otherwise make local investments enabling them either to marry or to maintain or establish a household. A goodly section of the residue are unlikely to resettle in Carriacou. Emigration is therefore to some degree motivated among males by the cultural pre-requisites for marriage, among females by the condition of marriage itself.

Of the 71 absent married males, 7 had left their wives and families in Carriacou, and 2 held plots on the Settlement, but had left no immediate family in the area. Of the absent single males, 2 held plots in their own right on the Settlement, and another 2 were widowed. Only one of the absent married women had wed a foreigner. This woman was married to a Grenadian living near Grenville, a town which is visited weekly by Carriacou boatmen. It seems that those Carriacou women emigrants who fall in love with foreigners while abroad normally prefer to have illegitimate children for their lovers rather than marry them. In such a case, the high ratio of single women among the female emigrant population indicates the high value which these women place on marriage to another native of Carriacou.

Marriage frequencies express the high value set upon marriage, but mar-

TABLE 3. MALE AND FEMALE LANDHOLDERS AT HARVEY VALE IN 1953, CLASSIFIED BY THEIR SURVIVAL, MARITAL STATUS, AND DEATH ORDER WITH RELATION TO THEIR SPOUSES

	Landholders		Total
	Male	Females	
(1) <i>Living Allottees:</i>			
Both spouses alive	8	—	8
Wives dead, husbands alive	2	—	2
Husbands dead, wives alive	—	2	2
Unmarried	2	—	2
Total Living Allottees	12	2	14
(2) <i>Deceased Allottees:</i>			
Husbands dead, wives alive	20	—	20
Husbands dead, 2nd wives alive	2	—	2
Both spouses dead, wives first	7	2	9
Both spouses dead, husbands first	40	2	42
Unmarried	1	5	6
Total Deceased Allottees*	70	9	79
(3) <i>Secondary Purchasers</i>	7	—	7
Total Landholders	89	11	100

*Includes one male deceased purchaser.

ried persons, especially males, often have children born outside of marriage as well as within it. The differing birth statuses of these children are reflected in their differing positions with regard to inheritance. To a large degree the relative effectiveness with which a man's different sorts of children are able to press their inheritance claims depends on whether his wife survives him. Consequently the relative frequencies with which spouses of either sex survive one another affect the transmission of inheritance rights. The preceding table summarizes our data on this subject, and will be discussed below.

Emigration

Absence is relative, a product of distance and time. It was not possible to establish the duration of absence systematically and accurately for all emigrants during the survey. Some persons knew, some did not. Death had often removed those who were most knowledgeable about the emigrants. On the other hand, the location of these emigrants was positively known, and overlapping information obtained by separate genealogical enquiries showed a very high agreement of their reported distribution in the large number of cases where two or more local descent-lines were intermarried.

The area which receives emigration considerably influences the migrant's prospects, and the chances of his return. Since these factors will in turn affect the distribution of land to which emigrants have claims or rights, especially with regard to security and continuity of tenure, it is necessary to examine the direction of emigration with care.

Two classes of emigrants can be usefully distinguished for present purposes, according to the types of claim on Settlement land which they hold. 'Principals' are persons of either sex who have a direct claim to all or some portion of particular plots. 'Dependents' are persons with latent claims, whose parents hold direct claims but were still living at the time of this study. Spouses, or others having claims based on affinity, are excluded from this classification, but female principals or dependents having claims in their own right are included. This distinction between Principals and Dependents does not refer to adult or minor status directly, but to the immediacy of claim and especially to the presence or absence of living parents, since most claims arise under inheritance. Thus, some Principals may be minors, while many Dependents are married adults.

Roughly two-thirds of the emigrants are concentrated in the nearby British colony of Trinidad, where opportunities for employment and land acquisition are very much higher than Carriacou provides. One-half of all emigrant Principals live in Trinidad. Carriacou schooners visit Trinidad weekly, and the passage-fare is low, \$10.00 (B.W.I.) in 1953. Individual movement between Trinidad and Carriacou is therefore easy, but costs are relatively high when families move as units. The great majority of Dependents in Trinidad are children of the Principals living there. Of the total number of absent Dependents, nearly 75 per cent are settled in Trinidad. Assuming on the basis of Table 2 that about 60 per cent of the female Principals in Trinidad are

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TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF HARVEY VALE EMIGRANTS, CLASSIFIED BY STATUS OF CLAIM

	Principals			Dependents				
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total		
Trinidad	65	53	118	111	121	232	350	
Aruba	15	9	24	21	14	35	59	
Venezuela	24	6	30	24	8	32	62	
U.S.A.	13	6	19	4	3	7	26	
Grenada	2	10	12	5	8	13	25	
Cuba	3	—	3	—	—	—	3	
Panama	3	—	3	—	—	—	3	
Columbia	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	
St. Eustatius	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	
Bahamas	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	
Total	128	85	213	165	154	319	532*	

*The whereabouts of 6 emigrants were uncertain or unknown.

married, it would appear that at least half of the total of absent adult females have married Carriacou men and gone to live in Trinidad.

Aruba and Venezuela, which also attract considerable emigration, offer attractive employment opportunities but are less inviting for family migration and settlement than Trinidad, being further away, offering little scope for land acquisition, and being under alien rule. These territories therefore attract few female Principals from Carriacou, and a large proportion of the emigration to them involves single males, typically Dependents. Most of these emigrants to Aruba and Venezuela later return to Carriacou where they settle, marry, and take up their inheritances. In this respect they differ from those who emigrate to Trinidad. Of the 6 absent male plottolders, 2 are married and live with their families in Trinidad, and the remainder, 2 in Aruba, 1 in the United States, and 1 in Cuba, are unwed.

These data describe emigration patterns in which the numbers and ratios of women decline as a function of the distance in cultural as well as spatial terms of the movement from Carriacou. They show how the probabilities that emigrant Principals may control their land-holdings from overseas or return to occupy these themselves corresponds roughly with this distribution of women overseas. This means that males settled abroad with their wives in nearby Trinidad are more likely to delegate authority over their holdings in Carriacou than to re-occupy them themselves, while male emigrants to more distant areas are more likely to be single persons with dependent claims to land in the island, who will return and assert occupancy at some later time.

Migration contexts which produce such uncertainty about the emigrants' return will obviously have direct and intimate effects on the transmission of rights in land in the island, its distribution, and the security or permanency of its tenure for the emigrants, their kinsfolk, and co-heirs alike. On one hand, the large number of absent Principals makes more land available than would otherwise obtain, and facilitates its re-allocation on inheritance informally and for indefinite periods in larger shares than those to which the co-heirs

would otherwise be entitled. Emigration of landholders also provides opportunities for caretaker arrangements between kin and others with regard to land which may postpone subdivisions due on inheritance, and may take the forms of lease or rent. On the other hand, the chance that persons abroad may return to assert their claims rather suddenly denies such re-allocations of their land in Carriacou any character of permanence or formal completeness. Likewise it denies occupants of such land the conditions of security in tenure which are essential if those attitudes basic to systems of individual right in land, restricted only by law, are to develop. Instead, land-holding within this context of migration strengthens contrary trends towards trusteeship on a family basis, especially where inheritance is involved.

DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF INHERITANCE

Of the 92 initial holdings 11 have not yet become subject to inheritance. If the 8 secondary divisions are grouped with these, the number of uninherited plots becomes 19. Of the remaining 81 plots, 37 have been inherited under wills through a total of 35 deaths, and 44 have been inherited without wills through a total of 38 deaths. Thus the frequency with which rights in land are transmitted by inheritance is more than twice that of sale. But since sales normally transfer rights to single persons only, while inheritance normally transfers right to several people, the proportion of all transmissions which occur through inheritance is considerably higher than the figure above suggests.

Of the 35 cases of inheritance by testamentary disposition, 22 can be treated as unmixed or pure testacy, in the sense that there has been no intestate inheritance of these willed holdings. The remaining 13 cases of initial inheritance under will can be regarded as mixed or hybrid in character. These are cases in which intestate inheritance of rights initially devised under wills has since occurred, or alternatively in which formerly unwilled inheritance has since been devised under will. All 38 cases of unmixed intestacy involve no will, either initially or subsequently. For purposes of this classification, the validity of wills at law is immaterial. Even where the existence of a will is disputed, the inheritance in question has been excluded from the category of unmixed intestacy, and has been classified in terms of the preceding criteria.

A comparative breakdown of the Settlement population according to the inheritance categories to which their claims belong is presented in Table 5. In this breakdown, those persons whose inheritance rights through their several kin and parents belong to different categories, have been divided equally between the categories involved to avoid dual entry or inequalities of classification.

Some 12 per cent of the total population have claims on plots which have not been subject to inheritance since their initial allocation. Another 27 per cent have claims on plots inherited under unmixed testacy. About 19 per

TABLE 5. POPULATION HAVING CLAIMS TO LAND ON THE HARVEY VALE SETTLEMENT IN 1953, CLASSIFIED BY CATEGORY OF INHERITANCE, LEGITIMACY AND LOCATION

	All Claimants				Legitimate				Illegitimate				Total involved
	In C'cou		Absent	In C'cou		Absent	In C'cou		Absent	In C'cou		Total	
(a) <i>No inheritance involved</i>													
Males	61	38	53	32	85	8	6	14	99				
Females	61	31	49	29	78	12	2	14	92				
Total unaffected by inheritance	122	69	102	61	163	20	8	28	191				19
(b) <i>Unmixed testacy</i>													
Males	159	47	111	32	143	48	15	63	206				
Females	181	51	128	40	168	53	11	64	232				
Claimants by unmixed testacy	340	98	239	72	311	101	26	127	438				23
(c) <i>Mixed testacy</i>													
Males	90	53	68	33	101	22	20	42	143				
Females	114	41	92	30	122	22	11	33	155				
Claimants by mixed testacy	204	94	160	63	223	44	31	75	298				14
(d) <i>Unmixed intestacy</i>													
Males	179	157	141	131	272	38	26	64	336				
Females	212	120	158	92	250	54	28	82	332				
Claimants by unmixed intestacy	391	277	299	223	522	92	54	146	668				44
Total													
Males	489	295	373	228	601	116	67	183	784				
Females	568	243	427	191	618	141	52	193	811				
Grand Total	1,057	538	800	419	1,219	257	119	376	1,595				100

cent of the population are claimants to plots inherited under conditions of mixed testacy, while 44 per cent or almost half the number with claims on inherited plots of all classes, inherit under unmixed intestacy. These 37 per cent of all plots which have been transmitted by will involve some 46 per cent of the Settlement population, and have an average for both categories of testate disposition of 20 persons per plot. Those 19 per cent of the plots not yet subject to inheritance account for 12 per cent of the total population, with an average of 10 claimants per plot. The 44 per cent of plots inherited under pure intestacy account for 44 per cent of the population, and average 15 claimants per plot.

The total population holding claims to inherited plots at the time of survey was 1404. Of these persons, only 32 per cent held claims based on conditions of unmixed testacy; 21 per cent held claims under conditions of testacy and intestacy together; while 47 per cent held their claims under conditions of unmixed intestacy. These ratios describe the extent to which deviation from the legal system of land inheritance has developed on the Settlement in a period of 50 years. The deviation from legal norms is of the same order for inheritance as for sale, and in its content and development forms the body of the folk system of tenure. Since these data were gathered without selection from the Settlement area, they provide a sample of case-histories which are probably representative of Carriacou as a whole, with this exception—that all initial holdings on the Settlement were based on recent legal title, and enjoyed official record.

Differences in the average number of claimants for plots of the various inheritance categories might seem to suggest that will-making is stimulated by numerous progeny. Such deduction from the averages would be inappropriate and erroneous. Similar deductions could equally be drawn from these averages to show that life-span of the holders, other things being equal, decreased in ratio to the numbers of their progeny. But other things are not equal in either case. Thus in 6 cases of mixed or hybrid testacy the wills concerned were made by widows of the initial land-holders after their deaths intestate; and there are also cases of testamentary disposition effected by holders without surviving issue. Moreover, as noted above, there may well be some under-reporting of illegitimate claimants, intentionally or otherwise. This would seem to be the case with regard to the population descended from living land-holders, since the ratio of illegitimate issue in this group is unusually low by comparison with other groups.

It therefore appears unlikely that inheritance with or without will can be explained in terms of the number of claimants involved; and a detailed examination of both processes and their conditions must therefore be made.

TESTAMENTARY DISPOSITION

I shall now seek to discover what factors are associated with testamentary disposition, in what ways, and to what extent, by a study of the contexts within which wills are made at Harvey Vale, and analysis of their contents.

Of the 11 female allottees 2 were still alive in 1953. Of the 9 deceased female allottees, 3 made wills themselves, 1 of them by asking her husband to dispose of her plot in his will. Of the 89 male allottees, 70 had died by the time of this survey, 32 of these having left a will, 38 intestate. The ratio of intestacy among female allottees is higher than among males.

Order of death of spouses is a variable with direct implications for will-making in many cases. Of the 3 testate females, 2 were survived by husbands. Of the 32 testate males, 1 was unmarried, 6 survived their wives, and the remaining 25 left widows behind them. Of these 25 widows, 2 were the allottees' second wives, and both they and their issue fared less happily under the will than the children of the first wives. Of the 38 intestate males, only 1 was unmarried at death, while none had been married twice.

It appears as a rule that men make wills when they survive their wives or have been twice married, but that wills are only made in 39 per cent of the cases in which the wife survives. Since from the data in Table 3, women survive their husbands in 4 out of 5 marriages, it follows that wills are made in half the number of marriages, but this includes all those cases in which widowers make wills. It appears that in Carriacou the presence of a healthy wife inhibits will-making on the part of her ailing spouse.

Actually, the calculation above understates the extent to which men possessing hale spouses refrain from making wills. This understatement arises because in 6 of the cases of testacy, the will was made by the widow herself. If these 6 cases are subtracted, it appears that only 19 out of the 62 landholders whose wives survived them made wills, that is, less than 30 per cent.

The Contents of Wills

The conditions and contents of such wills as were made at the Settlement are clearly worth study, if only because it seems unusual for men who die before their wives to make wills.

In 6 cases men made wills which set definite limits to the interests and powers of their widows with regard to the holding. In another 2 cases, certain legitimate issue were excluded from the inheritance; in 5 cases men allotted land by will to their illegitimate children; in 3 cases the wills recorded and sought to ratify partnership relations; in 4 cases the will recorded sales of portions of the plot which the landholder had transacted during his lifetime; in 5 cases the wills recorded previous partitions of the land among resident heirs; and in 2 cases rights to land claimed under partnership were distributed by will. In 11 of these cases, 2 or more scattered holdings were involved, and the will sought to effect subdivision of these holdings severally among the heirs.

As regards the shares distributed by will, in 14 cases the land was divided unequally, and in 13 cases, equally. In 1 case the terms were known to be ambiguous, 1 will transmitted a holding intact, and the contents of 2 were not clearly ascertained. Daughters were excluded from the inheritance in 1

will, another excluded sons, and a third gave sons a portion double that of the daughters, somewhat in the Muhammadan fashion of inheritance.

Where there is no surviving issue, land may be transmitted by will. Where the holder has lawful issue, and makes a will, these are the typical heirs. Where some of the holder's lawful issue are to be excluded from the inheritance, or some of his unlawful issue are to be included, wills are required. Unless specially mentioned in his will, the claim of a man's illegitimate issue gives way in the inheritance to that of the legitimate. The position is different where women are the land-holders.

In 3 cases, specially designated portions of certain plots were disposed of by will to the heir who undertook responsibility for the deceased's funeral expenses. In one case, the major share of a holding was transmitted to a non-lineal heir as reward for his care of the holder during the latter's decline. Frequently enough, holders may leave portions to their daughters' husbands, it being tacitly understood that such heirs will take care of the land and protect the interests of their issue by the testators' daughters in it, for future inheritance. This is obviously a device to strengthen the marriage and to preserve a portion of the holding for the testator's daughter's children. Apart from these special cases and others mentioned above, 3 illegitimate issue received house-spots under as many wills.

From this review of the contents of the wills at Harvey Vale, it is easy to see what conditions are directly associated with the making of wills. The basic condition of will-making, and hence its function, is to record or to initiate departures from the folk system of land tenure, and especially from the folk norms which govern the transmission of rights at inheritance. For this reason, the executor is typically a senior heir, or someone, such as the testator's brother, who exerts authority within the extended family and enjoys the testator's confidence.

The Administration of Wills

In order to exclude all marginal cases from the category of pure intestate inheritance, we have been using an extremely liberal definition of testacy. This definition has included the several cases of inheritance under wills which were made by widows who lacked the power to effect valid testaments. In several other cases, the wills actually made were invalid on various grounds, such as insufficient or unacceptable witness, improper delegation of the testamentary power, disposition of land not registered as the testator's property, and so forth.

In only 4 of these 35 cases of testamentary disposition were the wills registered, though this is required by law if the validity of a will is to be capable of assertion. Moreover, none of these 4 instances of registration was followed by the executor's demand for letters of administration, although such letters are essential to the execution of a will.

In 1 case, some heirs under a will alleged that it had been registered, while other heirs denied this. In 3 cases, none of the beneficiaries under wills was

aware of their contents. In 4 cases, the contents of wills were disputed by co-heirs. In 3 cases, certain heirs had appropriated the wills themselves. In 2 cases, senior co-heirs disputed with one another which of them had been appointed executor under the will. In only 2 of the 6 cases in which widows made invalid wills for their husbands' land was the widow's power to make such a will disputed by any heirs. In 2 of the 15 cases now under discussion, the existence of wills was denied point-blank by certain claimants to the inheritance.

There are 17 cases in which some of the children of deceased landholders have been completely or partially expropriated from inheritance on the Settlement. Of these 7 follow directly on disagreement over the contents of wills or the modes of their execution. Another 2 derive from wills which transmit otherwise unrecorded claims in plots purchased under informal partnership, but which are now denied by the registered purchasers or their heirs. These data indicate an expropriation rate of 26 per cent for inheritance under wills as against 21 per cent under intestacy. Thus, as devices for eliminating or reducing uncertainty and dispute over inheritance, wills are of doubtful utility. Indeed, they provide a number of issues for dispute, such as those of their actuality, legality, location, authorship and contents, which would not otherwise arise. But since wills are usually made to record or initiate deviations from custom, it is not surprising that they should frequently give rise to dispute. One rather extreme instance of this may be given to illustrate the variety of issues and factors involved.

A certain allottee, after nearly a lifetime of common-law wedlock, decided to marry his concubine. Several children had already blessed the union, but only one, a son, followed the marriage. The allottee was said to have made a will shortly before his death. His widow, having a life-interest in the land, remained in charge of the holding until she passed away. During this time the eldest son, who was executor under the alleged will, died overseas, and the last-born son collected title-deeds to the plot from the Administration as the 'lawful heir' (entry in official files). This man later denied that his father had made a will, and is alleged by his siblings and their dependents to have appropriated and destroyed it. Asserting his parents' intestacy, the last-born son now claims and holds the entire estate as the only 'lawful heir'. Thus the last-born, 'lawful' son has formally expropriated the children born before his parents' marriage and their descendants on grounds of 'illegitimacy'. Of course, under the Grenadian law, this distinction is invalid, since marriage, even if *in articulo mortis*, legitimizes all surviving children of the two parties. None the less the position of this self-appointed 'lawful heir' is strong, and cannot be challenged at law by those expropriated, except for an expenditure out of all proportion to the possible benefit, and without certainty of success. This case also illustrates the importance which Carriacou people attach to difference of birth-status in relation to inheritance of land from males, even though it carries this distinction to an invalid extreme.

The Execution of Wills

From the preceding it will be clear that the ways in which wills are executed may vary widely in different contexts. Certainly, only a fraction of the total number of wills even enter on the standard legal processes of administration and execution, while none proceed further. But even within these limits there is impressive variation.

Following on two deaths in 1953, execution of will was postponed as 'too soon' after the testators' deaths. Under the Carriacou conventions, entombment of the deceased, which is normally a somewhat protracted and expensive process, should correctly precede division of the inheritance. The executor's absence overseas had postponed division in another 3 cases, and two executors had died abroad leaving wills unimplemented. In 5 cases of land held by widows under life-interest, execution had been postponed until their deaths. In one case the terms of the will postponed execution until the testator's debts had been discharged. There were 7 cases in which absence of some heirs overseas has prevented execution, and another in which all heirs under the will are absent. Since the execution of wills is an informal process which normally lacks legal sanction, it depends for its validity and effect on the presence and consensus of all heirs and interested parties at the act. Hence absence of heirs delays execution.

In 4 cases of partial expropriation under wills certain of the terms were set aside in the execution. Subdivision of different holdings of the testator among his several heirs was involved in another 2 cases. In 3 of these 6 cases, it was alleged that the executor had carried out permanent subdivisions of the holdings concerned in the absence of certain co-heirs. In 2 of these 3 cases, it was also pointed out that the executors who subdivided these holdings were self-appointed and had acted without valid authority, the persons designated to execute these wills having died overseas. There were 5 cases in which the heirs had themselves arranged informal and temporary divisions of holdings, pending due execution of wills. In 3 cases wills were set aside, and the holdings concerned were sold to individual heirs, once by Government to enforce tax-payment, and twice by lawyers to realize debts. Thus, although the modes of execution do not conform to legal process, they are highly variable in themselves. There is, indeed, a very great difference between the will as a document and the distribution of rights to which it leads.

Successive Deaths and the Trend towards Intestacy

Of the 35 cases of willed inheritance, 22 were distinguished as instances of pure or unmixed testacy. This term covers all those cases in which there had been no intestate succession subsequent to the death of the initial testator. Thus dispositions by will which have been followed by death of childless heirs remain classifiable as instances of pure testacy in our terms, since no material alteration of the initial disposition is effected. But if heirs under will should die intestate and with living issue, then there are material alterations,

and the combination of testate and intestate conditions of inheritance on the holding leads to its classification as a case of hybrid status or mixed testacy. Successive deaths alone do not account for the category of mixed testacy, since, as mentioned above, this class includes 6 cases in which wills were made by widows after the deaths of their husbands intestate. But the progressive trend towards intestacy is so closely associated with the rate of decrease among the heirs under will that some details of this death-rate are necessary.

At the time of survey, 16 of the 35 groups of heirs under wills had not been reduced by death; 7 by 1 death each, in 6 of these cases the testator's widow being the person to die, thereby abolishing her life-interest in the holding but producing no material alteration in its disposition; 7 groups of heirs had lost 2 members each, subsequent to the testators' death; another 3 groups had lost 3 members each; one group had lost 5 heirs; and another had lost 7. Since the issue of heirs under will who die intestate themselves become heirs through their parents' deaths, the group of heirs to any holding, though suffering a decrease by the death of its members, normally increases in absolute size by the accession of their issue to it. Thus deaths among heirs under will do not as a rule connote reduction of claims on the inheritance. But they do normally involve important changes in the status of the inheritance itself.

Most of the 13 cases of hybrid inheritance status or mixed testacy have developed through deaths of heirs intestate which involve material alterations in the inheritance subsequent to the testator's death. None of these heirs under will had himself made a testamentary disposition of his inherited portion. No clearer demonstration of the trend towards intestate succession, its strength, and the conditions in which it develops, is possible. These conclusions are fully borne out by a glance at the cases of unmixed testacy. In 22 of these 23 cases, no deaths have occurred subsequent to that of the initial testator which have involved material alterations in the disposition as laid down by the will. Of these 22 cases, the death of widows abolished their life-interest in 6 cases, but led to no revision of the will; while in 16 cases there were no deaths involving heirs.

Wills record or initiate departures from folk custom, and seek to give these effect by copying the forms prescribed by law. But these forms are neither copied exactly nor followed with sufficient persistence for the wills concerned to possess legal validity. Even so, the innovations or ratifications which wills seek to enforce depend for their effectiveness on the agreement and stability of the groups to which they apply. A succession of deaths within this group progressively destroys the effectiveness of these normally invalid wills, and frustrates the departures from folk norms which they seek to promote. The conflict which wills arouse between interested parties is an expression of the conflict between formal law and the living law of Carriacou custom. Our data, besides documenting the forces and conditions that determine, develop,

and maintain this living law, also show it to be an impressive adaptation of the people to their circumstances.

Consider the location of surviving heirs under will. Of first generation heirs having direct claims under will, 44 males and 33 females were overseas at the time of this survey. Of second generation heirs under will, 14 males and 13 females were also absent. Thus 58 male and 46 female heirs under these 35 wills were not resident in Carriacou in 1953, giving an average of 3 non-claimants per will, with males in the majority. Of the 35 groups of heirs under will, only in 6 cases were all heirs present in Carriacou at the time of survey; and there is only one other group of heirs which does not include 2 or more absent heirs. These figures only relate to heirs actually designated by will.

The conditions which stimulate men to make wills also find expression in those invalid wills made by widows to dispose of their dead husbands' property. Generally widows making such wills after their husbands' deaths intestate are either concerned to prevent the expropriation of some of the children of the marriage by others, or to effect departures from the normal patterns of inheritance. Thus in 1 case, a widow willed some of her husband's land to her illegitimate offspring by a former lover, and there were 2 cases in which a widow's will sought to disinherit her husband's absent sons. If these migrants ever return, they are unlikely to accept such decisions without protesting.

INTESTATE SUCCESSION

Intestate succession occurs more frequently than its contrary at Harvey Vale, and also affects a greater number of plots. Since it does not involve the special arrangements of an individual character such as wills seek to enjoin, it usually follows the norms of folk custom with regard to inheritance of land. These norms can be stated simply.

Where a male landholder dies intestate leaving children of different birth-status, the legitimate heirs have a right to inherit, while the illegitimate only have a claim of conditional character. Where there are no legitimate children of an intestate male, his illegitimate issue inherit without hindrance. Where the legitimate children are abroad, illegitimate children living in the island have a good chance of securing temporary occupation of part of their father's holding. The illegitimate children of intestate women inherit equally with the legitimate. During their lifetime, the widows of intestate landholders exercise complete control over their husbands' land.

Of the 38 cases of intestate succession occurring on the Settlement, 2 or more holdings were inherited in 6 cases. Of these 38 cases, there has been undue appropriation of portions of the inheritance by some heirs at the expense of others in 8 instances. In 2 cases, the holder's widow has left her illegitimate offspring by an earlier mating in charge of the entire plot during

her absence from the island. In 1 case, the son of an intestate allottee has rented out his father's holding during his absence overseas to an unrelated person; the rentier's two full sisters who live near the Settlement have thus been denied access and occupancy; the rentier is alleged to have acted in this way on the grounds that he is responsible as the only son in frequent contact with Carriacou for maintaining the holding in its undivided state until other absent heirs return for its distribution. These cases are sufficient indication of the range of eligibility of claims to an intestate inheritance, and of the scope for interpretation and re-definition which the situation permits. To understand the processes and forms of intestate succession to land, it is therefore necessary to examine their demographic basis, the incidence of subsequent deaths among heirs, their location, and the like. The conditions reviewed in this way are directly comparable with some of the data already discussed in relation to testamentary disposition.

In 16 of the 38 cases of initial intestacy, there have been no subsequent deaths within the families concerned. In 6 cases, 5 of these involving the allottee's widow, there has been 1 death each; in 4 cases there have been 2 deaths subsequent to that of the initial landholder; in another 4 cases there have been 3, in 2 cases there have been 5 deaths, in one case 6, and in another 7. All these deaths have involved material alteration in the relation of the heirs to the inheritance. None has been preceded by preparation of a will.

Of the intestate initial allottees, 6 were women, whose illegitimate and legitimate children inherit equally. Of the intestate allottees of both sexes, 1 woman and 4 men left no surviving issue. 16 of the plots transmitted under intestacy were controlled by their holders' widows at the time of survey, and 3 of these widows were abroad, 2 with their entire families.

Excluding the illegitimate issue of intestate males, there were 53 male and 40 female heirs of the first generation living overseas in 1953, with inheritance claims on these 44 unwilled plots. There were also 36 male and 21 female heirs of the second generation, giving a total of 150 absent heirs, or 3.4 per plot, three-fifths of them being males. Excluding the 5 cases in which original holders died childless, in 3 of the remaining 33 cases no heir was absent from Carriacou at the time of survey, as against 5 cases in which no heir was in the island. As compared with the data relating to testate succession, there can be little doubt that migrancy of heirs is greater under intestacy.

Of the 534 legitimate descendants of testate landholders, 399, or 75 per cent, live in Carriacou. Of the 522 legitimate descendants of intestate landholders, 299, or 57 per cent, live in the island. It seems difficult to account for such marked differences in the emigration rates of these two inheritance groups, except in terms of the modes and conditions of these two forms of inheritance themselves.

Re-registration of portions of land inherited under conditions of intestacy would indicate the assertion of intention to exercise rights individually. Such

registration involves having the land in question placed under the name of its claimant on the roll which Government compiles for purposes of tax-assessment and collection. It amounts to a formal though indirect method of serving notice on other claimants to the portion that its appropriation is proceeding. As such it provides some measure of the tensions associated with inheritance with and without wills. Attempts at such re-registration have occurred on 2 of the 44 plots inherited under intestacy, as against 5 of the 37 plots inherited under will. These data suggest that the greater mobility of heirs under intestacy is linked with the greater security of tenure which this mode of inheritance provides, and its more permissive context.

The frequency with which women survive their husbands, and the rights of administration which these widows have, make it quite likely that subdivision of the estate among the heirs will be preceded by the widow's administration. Hence the position of widows in intestate succession is of special interest. As has been shown, these women sometimes make wills when they wish to exercise influence over the subdivision after their death. Although these wills are technically invalid, they may go unchallenged. Widows of intestate husbands who have left issue of either birth status have no power of alienation or right to rent the land without the heirs' consent. If neither the widow nor her intestate husband has any lawful offspring, but both have illegitimate children, then the widow in charge of the intestate inheritance may rent the land or leave her children in charge, but cannot sell it. If the intestate holder has only left illegitimate children and these assert their claims, then the widow has no right to place the land in charge of persons not related to its original holder, nor may she will it away. Only if there are no surviving issue of the holder is she free to will the land as she pleases, or, as happened in 3 cases of intestate disposition, to sell some or all of it.

Land held in their own right by women who die intestate and without issue is inherited by their 'adopted' daughters, if any, or failing them, by their mothers, their full sisters, or sisters' children. Normally however such women, unless they have an 'adopted' daughter linked to them by ties of uterine kinship, will dispose of their holdings while alive.

THE EFFECTS OF TESTATE AND INTESTATE SUCCESSION ON HOLDINGS

The relative effects of these two types of inheritance on the fragmentation of allotments is tabulated below. In this table data on the distribution and number of actual occupancies current in 1953 are compared with the distribution possible, had all persons with direct and incontrovertible claims under will or folk custom been holding land on the Settlement.

On average, there are 2 occupancies to each holding inherited under intestacy, while there are 3 occupancies per willed holding. For both types of inheritance, the number of actual occupancies is only one-half of those possible.

The 119 actual occupancies on these 38 willed holdings were distributed

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1b ()

1 C

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9

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Total

TABLE 6. ACTUAL AND POSSIBLE OCCUPANCIES OF HOLDINGS INHERITED UNDER TESTACY AND INTESTACY AT HARVEY VALE IN 1953

Occupancies per Holding	Intestate Succession				Testate Succession			
	Holdings		Occupancies		Holdings		Occupancies	
	Actual	Possible	Actual	Possible	Actual	Possible	Actual	Possible
1a (No issue)	4	4	4	4	—	—	—	—
1b (Undivided)	17	5	17	5	3	—	3	—
1 Occupancy	21	9	21	9	3	—	3	—
2 "	12	1	24	2	16	—	32	—
3 "	7	10	21	30	9	2	27	6
4 "	1	6	4	24	4	5	16	20
5 "	1	6	5	30	—	11	—	55
6 "	1	4	6	24	2	7	12	42
7 "	—	3	—	21	3	9	21	63
8 "	1	2	8	16	1	—	8	—
9 "	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	18
10 "	—	2	—	20	—	—	—	—
11 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12 "	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	12
13 "	—	1	—	13	—	—	—	—
14 plus	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	19
Totals	44	44	89	189	38	38	119	235

* = Sum of undivided holdings (1b) and those whose holders left no issue (1a).

among 41 males and 78 females. The 89 occupancies under intestacy were held by 27 males and 62 females. Thus there were in 1953 twice as many female occupants as males, while 50 years before when the Settlement was established there were 7 male allottees for each female. This trend towards female predominance in occupancy is partly an effect of higher rates of emigration among males, partly of widowhood; but it must not be taken to indicate parallel disparity in the areas controlled by the sexes. There are numerous cases in which a resident male occupies a portion equal to and sometimes greater than those of all his sisters together. Data on the size of the areas actually occupied in 1953 repay study.

When Tables 6 and 7 are studied together the principal features of the processes by which land is distributed and occupied become clear. These 82 inherited plots represent an area of approximately 200 acres, averaging about

TABLE 7. ACTUAL OCCUPANCIES AT HARVEY VALE IN 1953 CLASSIFIED BY SIZE AND MODE OF INHERITANCE

Acreage	Occupancies under:		Total
	Intestate Succession	Testate Succession	
— ¼	5	29	34
¼ — ½	9	39	48
½ — ¾	24	7	31
¾ — 1	6	14	20
1 — 1½	21	15	36
1½ — 2	9	8	17
2 — 3	9	4	13
3 plus	6	3	9
Total	89	119	208

2½ acres each. The actual occupancies came to 208, or slightly less than half the number possible. The average area of these actual occupancies was thus about 1 acre. In the 50 years since the Settlement was established, the size of occupancies on these plots has shrunk to two-fifths of the original. These data indicate the types of calculation which are necessary if holdings on a Land Settlement are to be maintained at something like their original level, and the rate at which surplus land must be allocated.

Of these 208 occupancies, 16.4 per cent are less than ¼ acre in size, excluding house-spots. Another 22.1 per cent are under ½ acre, and a further 15 per cent under ¾ acre, giving a total of 53.5 per cent of the actual occupancies. Only 22, or less than 11 per cent of the 208 occupancies in 1953, are as large as the original average size of 2½ acres per plot. If this calculation appears rather dismal, it is all the more necessary to keep in mind that the number of actual occupancies is only half the immediately possible total; and to remember that the number is as low as it is partly because of migrancy, which such inadequate holdings may themselves stimulate, partly because of the convention which limits the inheritance rights of a man's illegitimate issue.

Of the occupancies on holdings inherited under will 48 per cent are ½ acre or less in size, as compared with 15 per cent on holdings inherited without will. Conversely, less than 6 per cent of the occupancies on willed holdings are 2 acres or more in size, as compared with 17 per cent under intestacy. There can be no doubt from these data that testamentary disposition has a far higher correlation with the fragmentation of holdings by occupancies than does intestacy. Indeed, wills may well accelerate the atomization of plots. As shown above, wills record or initiate departures from folk convention with regard to land tenure and transmission, and in their formal aspects present rich fields for chicanery and dispute. Stimuli of this type cannot fail to arouse strong reactions, and those of a defensive nature include the occupation by unimportant heirs of the very small areas devised to them to prevent their possible expropriation by the executor or major beneficiaries under the will. Intestacy neither presents such formal grounds of tension, nor such opportunities for unequal divisions among the heirs to become permanent, since family consensus is necessary before the division can be made. Hence, under intestacy, claimants entitled to microscopic shares such as ¼ acre are more likely to look elsewhere than to press their claims.

The 119 occupants of willed holdings are 22 per cent of the total legitimate issue of the original holders of these plots. The 89 occupants on plots held under intestacy are less than 17 per cent. of the legitimate claimants. Both these occupancy totals represent almost exactly 30 per cent. of the number of legitimate claimants under each category who were in Carriacou at the time of survey. This simply means that the ratios of emigration among legitimate claimants under the different modes of inheritance is approximately the inverse of these occupancy ratios.

Occupancy under rent or arrangements by which the occupant 'takes care'

of the land are more common on holdings inherited without will than on willed holdings. Excluding rented house spots, 4 occupancies on unwilled holdings were held by rent, and 3 of these involved undivided holdings; there were no such rentals on plots disposed of by will. There were 6 occupancies involving 'caretaker' arrangements on unwilled plots, 5 of these applying to undivided holdings, as against 1 on plots transmitted by will. It is clear that intestate disposition facilitates the retention of plots without division to a greater degree than testacy.

Of the 6 living holders of plots by secondary purchase, who were absent from Carriacou in 1953, 2 left their wives in charge, 2 their mothers, 1 a sister and 1 the father of his wife, who initiated and conducted the purchase in the holder's absence. None of these 6 absentees had rented out his plot. Rental at Harvey Vale is therefore found only on plots inherited without will.

THE AGGREGATION OF OCCUPANCIES AND HOLDINGS

The number of occupancies on the Settlement substantially exceeds the number of occupants. This is so because the fragmentation of holdings by occupancy permits and is accompanied by individual control of several occupancies. The processes and effects involved are discussed here as aspects of aggregation. Aggregation applies to holdings by rights or claim, as well as to the occupancy of such holdings. As has been pointed out, the distribution of allotments on the Settlement was itself accompanied by individual aggregation of holdings. Inheritance and purchase have allowed this process to continue with regard to holdings by right, in the same way that caretaker arrangements, rent, and the exercise of occupancy rights by Dependent claimants on behalf of absent Principals have permitted aggregation of occupancies. Fragmentation of allotments and the dispersal of occupancy or rights are therefore quite distinct, and the former entails nothing directly about the latter. A careful statement of the forms and measures of aggregation with regard to occupancies and holdings is thus essential to an accurate description and analysis of the present distribution of land. Table 8 summarizes the distribution of these multiple individual occupancies on the Settlement in 1953. Table 9 completes the picture of these individual accumulations by showing how they are distributed according to size and inheritance status of the holdings involved.

Table 8 describes the forms and effects of the processes by which individuals have accumulated occupancies at Harvey Vale. In every case the multiple occupancy includes one or more inherited plots or portions. The decisive significance of inheritance distributions for individual aggregation of holdings and occupancies is thus clear. The difference between the numbers of occupancies and occupants should be equally so. The 29 multiple occupants between them control 72 occupancies, with an average of 2.5 occupancies per person. Making allowance for these, there are only 165 individual

TABLE 8. MULTIPLE INDIVIDUAL OCCUPANCIES AT HARVEY VALE IN 1953, CLASSIFIED BY INHERITANCE STATUS OF THE HOLDINGS INVOLVED

Type of Data	Holdings Inherited		Total	Remarks
	Without Wills	Under Wills		
Allotments involved	32	16	48	—
Occupancies involved	39	33	72	
<i>Occupants by sex:</i>				
Male	7	5	12	Total = 29
Female	10	7	17	
<i>Occupancies by Occupant's sex:</i>				
Number of male occupancies	16	17	33	Av. = 1.4 acres Av. = 1.5 acres
Number of female occupancies	23	16	39	
Area of male occupancies (acres)	22½	23¾	46¼	
Area of female occupancies "	30½	27¾	58¼	
Area of all occupancies	53	51½	104½	Av. = 1.45 "
<i>The individual aggregates:</i>				
Av. size of individual aggregate	3½ acres	4¼ acres	—	Av. = 3¾ acres
No. of occupancies by right	21	20	41	Av. = 1.44
Area of occupancies by right	23½ acres	25 acres	48½ acres	Av. = 1.74 "
Occupancies held by rent	2	—	2	
Occupancies held as caretakers	10	10	20	
Occupancies held by Dependent claims	6	3	9	
Multiple occupants without plots of their own:				
Males	2	2	4	
Females	1	—	1	

occupancies on the 82 plots which have been subject to inheritance, as against 208 such areas. The reduction in size of areas occupied individually on these plots during the past 50 years is thus by one-half, and not by three-fifths as it would seem without taking these multiple holdings into account.

As regards the relation of these processes of individual accumulation to the two different modes of inheritance, in 1953 the 44 unwilled holdings were occupied by 66 individuals, whereas the 38 willed holdings were occupied by 98 individuals. On average there were twice as many occupants per

TABLE 9. DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL AGGREGATES ACCORDING TO SIZE AND TYPE OF INHERITANCE INVOLVED AT HARVEY VALE IN 1953

Aggregates by Acres	Holdings Inherited		Total
	Without Wills	Under Wills	
—1	2	1	3
1 —2	3	2	5
2 —3	5	1	6
3 —4	2	—	2
4 —5	3	4	7
5 —6	—	1	1
6 —7	1	1	2
7 —8	—	1	1
8 —9	1	1	2
Total	17	12	29

plot inherited under will as under intestacy. The fragmentation of holdings among occupants by will is thus twice as high as under intestacy.

The areas controlled through individual aggregation of occupancies are relatively large. This means that the average size of the occupancies held by other persons on the Settlement may be substantially less than the average of all occupancies under inheritance, which was approximately 1 acre. The 104½ acres controlled by the 29 multiple occupants include 6½ acres off the Settlement. Allowing for this, 98 of the 252 acres allotted at Harvey Vale were controlled by 29 persons in 1953. The remaining 154 acres were then distributed among 149 persons, averaging 1 acre each. But if plots not yet subject to inheritance are excluded, there are 135 other claimants occupying the remaining 102 acres of inherited land, giving about three-quarters of an acre per person. Either of these averages is low compared with that of 3.75 acres per individual with multiple occupancies. Their comparison indicates the measure and form of the competition for control of land. Only 41 of the 72 portions controlled by multiple occupants are held by these individuals in their own right. Half as many again are occupied under caretaker arrangements, and the majority of the remainder under claims for future inheritance.

Of the individuals controlling multiple occupancies, 1 in 6 hold no land on the Settlement in their own right. The total area controlled by the 29 multiple occupants is twice as large as that which this group holds in its own right. Of the 17 females with multiple occupancies, 10 are widows, who hold claims or rights to some of their fathers' plots as well as life-interests in those of their husbands.

By far the most impressive feature of these multiple occupancies is the fact that all the individuals who control them are members of one or other of the 13 patrilineages which between them obtained 67 of the 81 initial allocations on the Settlement. To some degree, as the proportion of widows among females who control multiple occupancies suggests, this accumulation of occupancies by the major lineages of the Settlement has been facilitated by the inter-marriage of its population. Yet this intermarriage should lead to the transfer of plots from these lineages as well as towards them, if transfer proceeded randomly, and was not influenced by structural factors. Similarly, under the prevailing norms of bilateral inheritance of land, it is reasonable to expect that transfers of control of land from these lineages would occur as frequently as transfers to them in all cases where lineage members and strangers had married. That this is patently not the case itself indicates the influences that prevent it.

Five of the multiple occupants lacking land in their own right are members of these prominent lineages. That this should be so indicates that the Settlement population regards the exercise of interest by these lineages as providing a good measure of security in the tenure of land. These five lineage members controlling multiple occupancies all of which belong to other persons exercise occupancy rights over land held by lesser lineages, affines, and un-

related persons alike. It therefore appears likely that landholders exercising their rights in association with the dominant families of the Settlement enjoy greater assurance of peaceful tenure than they may otherwise expect, since the majority of contemporary holders lack legal title or proof of right. But at the same time these expectations and the system of social relations with which they harmonize guarantee that progressive accumulations of control of land by the principal lineages will take place. Moreover, because these lineage interests provide a stable basis for security of tenure, they operate to assist the displacement of legal forms by the folk conventions which define them.

CONCLUSIONS

I shall now summarize the more important findings of this paper as they relate specifically to Carriacou, and conclude with one or two more general observations.

(1) After 50 years, over 60 per cent of the Settlement land is now held under a system of customary tenure by persons whose titles are obscure and may well be invalid at law.

(2) A substantially higher percentage of the transfers of rights to land on this Settlement do not satisfy the conditions of legally valid transfer.

(3) The processes by which customary tenure displaces the official legal system are cumulative and one-way.

(4) The rate at which this displacement occurs is high on this Settlement, and affects over 60 per cent of all occupancies after 50 years, or approximately two generations.

(5) Unfamiliarity with legal forms and processes, coupled with their expensiveness and uncertainties contribute to this progressive abandonment of legal tenure.

(6) The rate and scale of population increase dominate the holding and occupancy of land on the Settlement, and in quite specific ways.

(7) Increasing pressure of population on land is mediated through a system of conventions, attitudes, and values which informs the customary system of tenure and gives it a different content and set of procedures from that of the law.

(8) The conventions, attitudes, and values of this folk system are directly related to the social organization, and to the frequencies with which different types of circumstance or condition arise within the society.

(9) This complex of folk attitudes reduces the number of effective claims under inheritance by conventions about legitimacy, marriage, widowhood, and especially absenteeism. It provides for a ranking of claims in terms of priorities, and also for the flexible adjustment of claims according to the circumstances involved. It therefore serves to organize the allocation of land-rights in a form consistent with the social organization of the folk, and with the relative positions of claimants within that organization.

(10) This complex of folk custom further restricts the tendency or power of landholders to alienate their land to folk not already on the Settlement, and thereby inhibits the development of those attitudes towards alienation and conveyancing which are essential to the performance of legally valid sales, and to individualism of tenure.

(11) Folk custom defines partnership in land-holding as a relation which continues between the heirs of the original partners.

(12) This customary system restricts the desire to make wills concerning land, by removing the necessity or value of such dispositions, except where deviations from the folk norms of inheritance are at issue, or previous transactions are recorded. The innovations which wills seek to make normally involve departures from the folk norms of intestate succession, while the facts which they record re-define the holder's claims to land.

(13) The complex of folk attitudes to the inheritance of land further restricts action to record or execute such wills as have been made, thereby accelerating the return of testamentary dispositions to the norms of folk inheritance.

(14) Inheritance under the law by will, and under custom without will, differ in their effects and functions, as well as in their form.

(15) Inheritance under will seems to be more closely associated with greater tensions over land among heirs than inheritance under intestacy. These more severe tensions of willed disposition are expressed in lower degrees of migrancy of heirs and in higher degrees of fragmentation of the estates by occupancy among them than are to be found on those plots inherited without will.

(16) Intestate succession stimulates no effort to formalize the inheritance at law, nor does it usually lead to permanent subdivisions of the holdings, since many of the heirs and claimants are typically absent, and such subdivision requires their consent. Instead it facilitates individual aggregation of control over land, but also enjoins the rotation of occupancies as circumstances require. Both these developments are only possible because the ownership of particular sections of the inherited land is imprecisely defined in the first place. Both these developments occur together and in association with the expansion of control over much of the area by its major kinship groups.

(17) The extension of interest and control over land by these major kinship groups functions to stabilize the transmission and tenure of rights for all concerned, and in this way provides much the same advantages which are offered by the form and process of law, but without much expense, and with more flexibility.

(18) Intestacy, absenteeism, accumulation, and the exercise of supervisory functions by large kin groups all involve trusteeship norms and obligations which are opposed to the code of individual tenure as laid down in the legal system. These obligations and rights of trusteeship provide a realistic and

flexible adaptation of the folk to their circumstances, especially to their conditions of high population increase and migrancy on the one hand, and low incomes and little land on the other. The adaptive values of the folk norms in these circumstances are greater than those offered by the law.

(19) As a rule married men in Carriacou are survived by their wives, and the folk attitudes to marriage and widowhood tend to restrain will-making by men whose wives are alive. Together these conditions have a profound effect on the distribution of land occupancies, and also on the norms of folk tenure and inheritance. Together with the differing sex-patterns of emigration, this high widowhood rate involves progressive elimination of males from actual occupancy of the majority of plots, although rights to such occupancy often continue to be traced through males. The widow's control of her late husband's plot normally starts with his intestacy, and concludes with her own. In other ways increase of female occupancy of land also promotes the increase of intestacy.

The transformation of land rights we have been discussing consists in a changeover from rights in things defined and sanctioned by law to rights or claims against persons, defined or sanctioned by custom. In the process the negative relations which constitute rights *in rem* have been replaced by the positive relations which constitute rights *in personam*. The changes in form of right are thus complex and important.

It will now be clear that the development and character of a system of customary tenure such as that just analysed can only be understood in terms of its functions within the social context of the population which supports it. It should also be clear that detailed study of the *processes* by which rights in land have been transmitted within a population over a sufficient number of years alone can provide the data essential for understanding of its current *forms* of tenure, their development and their functions. In such a study, special attention must first be devoted to the demographic situation, then to those cultural conventions which define the range and relative priorities of claims, and finally to the relation between these two sets of variables.

In the light of such a study, problems of function and development dovetail, and give rise to conclusions of practical significance. For example, if the development and character of the system of customary tenure at Harvey Vale is only intelligible in terms of its social context, then so long as that social context retains its former character, the customary forms of tenure will continue to develop and flourish.

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Social Security Problems, With Special Reference to the British West Indies^a

By

J. HENRY RICHARDSON

The essential purpose of social security is to ensure "freedom from want." This is one of the four freedoms which were declared by the signatory powers of the Atlantic Charter to be the objects of their policy. More specifically a fully developed system of social security would give to every individual the assurance that if through misfortune his own resources proved insufficient for his primary, essential or minimum needs the community of which he is a member would make provision for him. Poverty may be caused, temporarily or permanently, by sickness, accident, unemployment, invalidity, old age, death of the breadwinner and other adversities, and in such circumstances people may suffer severe privation or even starvation unless they are helped by relatives, friends or more generally by the community. With the best will in the world it is often impossible for individuals to meet such crises unaided. Thus, a worker may become a permanent invalid from sickness or may suffer total permanent disablement from an industrial accident when quite young and long before he could have saved enough to provide for himself and his dependents. Social security implies a common obligation to assist those in need, the more fortunate members of the community providing for the unfortunate. "Fundamentally in every case it is a matter of collective provision by which the needs of those who are permanently or temporarily less well off are met by contributions from a common store raised in the last resort from the better off in the community." (1, p. 2.)

In effect, the process is a redistribution of resources so that those who are fit support those who are suffering privation because of sickness, the employed support the unemployed, those of working age support the aged, or more generally the strong support the weak. This is a moral responsibility in any community which is not dominated by ruthless selfishness and unrestrained competition. The redistribution in countries where there are not wide differences in wealth between different classes is not so much a transfer from rich to poor as from the more fortunate to the less fortunate among the workpeople themselves.

^aThis article is based on studies by the author during a number of years into problems of social security, including the evolution of social security in the United Kingdom, and on his work as adviser on social security to the Governments of British Guiana, Barbados, Bermuda and Venezuela. Use has been made of reports submitted in 1954 by the author to the Governments of British Guiana and Barbados, from which passages are reproduced in this article.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SECURITY

The earliest, simplest and most natural form of provision is by relatives, friends and neighbours, and this will always play its part in helping those in need, though often the extent of such aid is limited. In the family, affection, understanding and interdependence often bind its members together in a closely knit unit where resources are, to a greater or less extent, shared. In some countries, for example India and parts of Africa, the family may include even distant relatives and it is traditional for the fortunate members to aid the unfortunate. In primitive communities the tribe is usually the natural unit for providing for those of its members who need assistance. The tribe, is, in a sense, the family writ large, and within the tribe food and shelter are given to the sick and aged, while the able-bodied can be allowed to grow crops on tribal lands. In some parts of the world the tribe, as an economic and social unit, is likely for a long time to remain the appropriate unit for social security.

Even in more developed communities the unit for relief of the poor was the parish or other small local organization, and assistance was often given in kind rather than in cash. Thus, in England from the time of the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 for two hundred years the parish authorities assisted people without resources, the obligation being on the parish in which a person was born; in the nineteenth century, however, neighbouring parishes joined together in Poor Law Unions for the better and more economical organization of relief. After the end of the century, the Poor Law system was seen to be inadequate, its areas were too small, its harsh methods were increasingly criticized, and the establishment of a nation-wide system of social security came to be recognized as necessary. "In general the unit for social security grows with economic and social development." (1, p. 3.) The harsh administration of poor relief was based on the assumption that the poor were responsible for their poverty and should receive relief only under conditions which were severely deterrent. In consequence, large numbers of people who were genuinely in need through no fault of their own bore hardship and distress rather than endure the humiliation and stigma of pauperism.

The problems become more complex in modern urban industrial and commercial communities, and social security measures must be more broadly based. In such conditions, large numbers of people are no longer members of a closely knit stable local society in which they are known and which feels a responsibility to assist them when in need. Individuals and families may be lost in the masses of a big city or industrial region. Yet they are mutually highly interdependent largely because of specialization and differentiation in their economic activities.

In such circumstances, many people join together in mutual benefit societies, or are assisted by voluntary charitable or welfare societies, or by

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religious organizations, as had already been frequent in the middle ages. Contributions to mutual benefit or friendly societies contained the germ of contributory insurance; the members paid their contributions in order to have the right to specified benefits when they were sick or otherwise in need, and they wished to avoid dependence on the harsh system of poor relief. Also some industrial and commercial undertakings make provision for their work-people, either by contributory or non-contributory methods. Yet for one reason or another large numbers of people are outside such schemes, or the schemes are not financially strong enough to cover more than a small part of the essential needs of the poor. These various schemes should be continued, as voluntary methods represent important elements in the structure of social security, but alone they are not enough. Increasingly, therefore, in many countries the need for systematic comprehensive schemes such as only governments could organize and administer has been recognized. A government may provide assistance from its ordinary revenues from taxation for destitute persons who, on the basis of a means test, are helped financially or otherwise. Assistance is given only to needy persons and the payments are varied according to proved individual needs. Government measures may also include insurance schemes which provide specified benefits without a means test, but in the last resort, governments must assist those who are destitute and who cannot obtain help from other sources. Social assistance schemes, therefore, are an essential and permanent part of any comprehensive system of social security, even where contributory insurance schemes are in operation. Assistance deals with residual poverty and is an essential supplement to insurance.

PROSPECTS IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

In the British West Indies keen interest in social security has been shown since the War. It has been stimulated by the Beveridge Report, by the adoption in Britain of a comprehensive, universal system of social insurance, national assistance and a National Health Service, and by the systems, experiments and experiences of many other countries in this field. British West Indian territories have been greatly influenced by British legislation, British ways of life and social systems, and it is not surprising that these territories should aspire also in the field of social security to do what Britain has done. It is in consequence of such aspirations that the governments of several West Indian territories, including those of British Guiana, Barbados and Jamaica have invited experts to undertake exploratory investigations with the object of assessing whether, having regard to the financial and economic situation of the territory concerned and the other obligations faced by the government, the territory is in a position to support any measure of social security, and if so, to what extent.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that each country must evolve its social security system on the basis of its own conditions, resources, needs and

the stage reached in its economic and social development.^a Caribbean territories may be able to introduce more advanced schemes than some Asian and African countries, but it would be unrealistic for them to attempt to adopt so comprehensive a scheme as the Beveridge plan or the present British system. This system is the result of nearly 50 years of trial and error, during which time much administrative and social experience was gained. The present system in Britain evolved from piecemeal legislation dealing separately with workmen's compensation, old age, unemployment, sickness and invalidity, each scheme being introduced independently at different times when the need for each was recognized to be urgent.^b Also Britain's standard of living is one of the highest in the world, and this enables very large expenditures to be incurred for social security. Caribbean communities are much lower down the scale. Furthermore Britain has highly developed services for health and rehabilitation, while, since the present social insurance scheme was introduced shortly after the end of the War, government policy and favourable economic conditions have ensured a high level of employment and even, in some periods, over-employment. By comparison, in most Caribbean territories, the standards of the health services are considerably lower, and unemployment and underemployment are severe burdens.

Although, however, highly complex schemes would be unsuitable for Caribbean territories, it must not be concluded that a country must wait until its economy has reached an advanced stage before making progress in the field of social security. The question must, however, be asked: Are the economic conditions and standards of living in the Caribbean territories sufficient to enable any advances to be made in social security, including the introduction of contributory social insurance, or must these territories wait perhaps for many years until big strides in economic development have first been made? In attempting to answer this question it is interesting to consider how incomes per head in these territories compare with those in other parts of the world. A table published by the United Nations gives the income per head of the population in the year 1950 for each of seventy-five countries, and although there are many statistical difficulties in making comparisons, and

^aThe need for each territory to evolve a system of social security based on its own conditions instead of attempting to adopt a 'ready made' model from abroad was one of the main themes in the Colonial Office Paper on *Social Security in the Colonial Territories* (1).

^bWhen the comprehensive unified system was introduced in Britain in 1948, *The Times* in its issue of July 6 of that year said: "The British people joined together in a single national friendly society for mutual support during the common misfortunes of life. The new system is essentially the culmination of half a century of piecemeal social reform now carried to a logical conclusion". Previous lack of a unified system may be illustrated by the fact that in the 1930's the unemployment insurance scheme provided benefits for dependents while sickness insurance did not. The effect was that a man with wife and two children received 32/- a week if unemployed, but if away from work because of sickness he received only 15/-. Such anomalies were removed when the unified scheme came into force in 1948, the policy being adopted that, when a person is not earning, his needs and those of his family are much the same whether the cessation of his earnings is due to unemployment, sickness, or other causes, except that medical benefits in addition to cash are needed when sickness is the cause.

although there have been income increases in nearly all countries since 1950, the figures given can be used for reaching broad general conclusions (2). At the top of the table are the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, and Switzerland, all with incomes per head of U.S. \$600 or more.^a By contrast, the bottom group of countries with incomes of less than U.S. \$100 included India, China, Pakistan and most other Asian, and also African countries, and in this group were Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the Caribbean region. Only a few other Caribbean islands were given in the table, and of these Jamaica was in an intermediate group of countries with incomes per head ranging from U.S. \$150 to \$299. Allowing for income increases between 1950 and 1955, Trinidad and Barbados would be in this group, and also British Guiana. In the next higher group of countries with incomes per head between U.S. \$300 and \$499 were Cuba and Puerto Rico.

These figures show that on the basis of income per head Barbados, British Guiana, Jamaica, Trinidad and some other Caribbean territories are in an intermediate rank among the countries of the world, and, if account be taken of population, substantially more than one-half of the peoples of the world have lower incomes per head than these territories. In terms of income per head, therefore, these Caribbean countries are in the upper half of the world's population, and if it is objected, as has been done, that they are at present too poor to enable significant progress to be made in social security, then this objection would apply with even greater force to countries with much more than half the world's population which are still poorer. The objection, however, is not valid. It is not necessary to wait until standards of living in these territories are higher before improved systems of social security can be introduced. Economic development and progress in social security should march together. The question at issue is not whether anything can be done; the questions are which aspects of social security call most urgently for action, and on which can effective results be secured and practical experience gained for further advances.

Hitherto, in most Caribbean territories the main public system of social security has been the provision of assistance out of public funds for persons in dire necessity, this being based largely on British poor relief methods. In Britain the harshness of the former poor law system has been replaced by the present national assistance scheme which operates alongside national insurance. The insurance method, by which contributors receive benefits as a right without any means test, has not, however, made assistance unnecessary. As already indicated both insurance and assistance are essential parts of a developed system of social security. There will always be people, who, for one reason or another are not protected by social insurance or for whom

^aIn countries with very high standards of living and stable economic conditions, the need for social security measures may be less than in countries with lower standards, as more people would be able to provide for themselves.

social insurance benefits are not sufficient, and there should be an assistance scheme to which they can turn. Assistance therefore is needed alongside insurance. In Caribbean countries the present non-contributory assistance schemes should be improved, as they will be needed to supplement any contributory insurance schemes which may be introduced. However, the stage has now been reached in various Caribbean countries when measures of contributory social insurance should be initiated, and these would provide valuable experience for future development.

Conditions in the British West Indies are favourable for the introduction of such measures. Although wages and standards of living are low compared with those in the advanced countries of the world, they are not so low as to make contributory social insurance impracticable. The territories have money economies, which facilitate cash contributions in contrast with rural subsistence economies in some other parts of the world where money plays only a small part in the lives of village and tribal communities. Each West Indian community is relatively small and compact in size and in population, which facilitates administration of social security schemes. Also there are reasonably high administrative standards, and experience gained in administering poor relief provides a basis on which to build more developed systems of social security. The wage economy is widespread in the West Indies, high proportions of wage earners being employed on large plantations or in other undertakings with substantial numbers of employees, and this facilitates the collection of contributions. Mention must also be made of the benefits which the sugar industry of the British West Indies derives from the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement by which a remunerative price has been guaranteed for a period of years and serves as an important stabilizing factor in the economy.

The amount which any community can afford to use for social security depends on the income of the community and the other claims on that income.^a Incomes of West Indian communities are not big enough to enable comprehensive schemes with high rates of benefit to be introduced. The problem therefore is to decide which of the various risks should first be provided against, what methods are the most suitable and practicable, and what scales of benefit can be afforded. Detailed answers to these questions can be given only on the basis of systematic enquiries into the economic, financial and social conditions of each territory. In Britain, social insurance financed by joint contributions provides cash benefits for persons who are unemployed, unable to work because of sickness, victims of industrial injuries and diseases, aged, widows and orphans; and maternity and funeral grants are also paid. Most of the benefits include payments for the wife and the first dependent child. Alongside the insurance scheme is a system of children's allowances paid in respect of each dependent child after the first and financed out of the ordinary revenues of the Government. Similarly financed is National As-

^aIn countries with fairly comprehensive schemes about 4 or 5 per cent of the national income is spent on social security benefits.

sistance which provides benefits to people in need who have exhausted their rights under insurance or for whom the insurance benefits are insufficient. Then there is the National Health Service which provides medical treatment, hospital accommodation and medicines largely free, and it also is financed mainly from the ordinary revenues of the Government.

SELECTION OF PRIORITIES

Such a comprehensive system is the result of a long evolution in a wealthy industrial country and, as already indicated, would be quite impracticable in the West Indies at the present time, though some of its features might be regarded as a long-term ideal towards which progress could be made. The immediate problem is to select from among the various needs those which in West Indian conditions are the most urgent and for which practicable measures can be taken. It is to establish priorities which make first claim on the resources of the community. Progress can then be made by gradual evolution with a widening of the scope of social security and increase in benefits as experience is gained and the resources of the community expand. The order of priorities must be determined by the circumstances of each individual territory.

Those parts of social insurance which can claim high priority in the West Indies are old age pensions and improvements in the system of compensation for industrial injury, particularly by providing life pensions instead of lump sums when the injury involves severe permanent disablement. Sickness insurance also demands early consideration. These needs are considered separately in later sections of this article, as is the encouragement of house ownership as a measure of social security. Unemployment and underemployment are serious in many parts of the West Indies, but, as is indicated later, the problems involved are such that unemployment insurance would be impracticable, and, instead of attempting to provide cash benefits for the unemployed, the proper course would be, as far as possible, to use the method of relief work for those for whom other employment is not available. Payment of children's allowances would also be impracticable, while for maternity and funeral benefits the voluntary system of the Friendly Societies is available in several British territories (3).

In addition to limiting early insurance developments to the most urgent needs for which practicable schemes can be devised and administered, other limitations may be considered. In some countries insurance schemes are applied in the first instance only in one or a few large cities and are then progressively extended to cover other areas as soon as the administrative system can deal effectively with them. In Venezuela, for example, the social security system, which is contributory and provides sickness and industrial injury benefits in cash and in kind, was applied at first only to workpeople in the Federal District, which consists mainly of Caracas and neighbouring urban centres.

Between 1948 and 1955 it was successively extended to other cities including Maracay, Barquisimeto, Maracaibo, Puerto Cabello, and Ciudad Bolívar, and plans were made for its early application to all towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants.^a This method of geographical limitation to one or a few urban areas is often necessary during the initial stages in large countries with widely scattered populations, but Caribbean territories are generally so small and compact that there should be little if any need for geographical restrictions.

Other restrictions claim consideration. One is whether insurance schemes should apply to all industries or only to some of them. In some countries schemes are started first for workers in a few urban industries and the scope is gradually widened. Often, because of difficulties of administration agriculture is excluded where the workers are in small groups scattered over wide areas, and much of their income is not in money but in kind. But in most West Indian territories this difficulty is not serious, and rural workers could be included more readily than in some other parts of the world. Another question of scope is whether the system should apply to the whole population, or to all employed persons (wage and salary earners), or only to those employed persons whose wage or salary is less than a specified amount. In Britain when social insurance was introduced it was restricted to wage earners and to persons with salaries below a stated level. The salary level was later raised, and after the War the income limit was removed, and also the system ceased to be restricted to employed persons; it was made universal, applying to rich and poor alike and including persons working on their own account.^b It would seem desirable when introducing social insurance in the West Indies to begin by restricting it to employed persons in the lower income groups with wages or salaries below a specified amount, as they are mainly those whose need for social insurance is the greatest and who are least able to make provision for themselves. Such restriction would make the administration easier. People with larger incomes are usually more able to make provision for themselves.

In order to make administration easy, some schemes, especially in the early stages, are restricted to undertakings which employ not less than ten work-people, so as to avoid collecting contributions from large numbers of small undertakings. Later on, when the administration is well established the scheme may be extended to smaller undertakings. Domestic servants in private homes

^aIn 1955 about 200,000 workers were contributing to sickness insurance, and their employers paid equal contributions in respect of each worker. The system applies to all workers earning not more than 1,200 bolívares a month (3.35 bolívares = \$1.00 U.S.). The average contribution is 5.83 per cent of wages, and workers are classified in six grades. Sickness benefits in cash are two-thirds of the basic wage of each grade and are paid for periods up to 52 weeks. Medical and hospital treatment are given free to workers who are sick and to their wives and families. Employers contribute the whole cost of industrial accident insurance, the rate varying according to the risk of the industry, but averaging 2 per cent. The system is administered by the Institute of Social Security which has constructed hospitals and clinics in the main urban centres. Administrative costs are borne by the Government.

^bAt one time the salary limit had been £250 a year, and at a later stage £420.

are excluded from some schemes partly for administrative reasons. Self-employed persons are in a special position. They work, for example, as craftsmen on their own account or as shopkeepers, and have no employer. Also, being scattered about as individuals the work of collecting contributions is increased. Having no employer a self-employed person would have to pay both the worker's and the employer's contributions and the scheme is therefore much less attractive to them than it is to employed persons. Only if the government makes a substantial contribution does the scheme become financially attractive. Self-employed persons are excluded from many schemes, while in others they may join voluntarily, though few do so. Often the self-employed persons are less insecure than employed persons; when sick or becoming aged they may often be able to work for a few hours a day but could not do the full day required in a factory or plantation, and often in their work they have the assistance of members of their families.

In the West Indies the problem is not that of starting social security measures, as each territory already has some form of non-contributory public assistance. The problem is one of development and extension in the light of experience within each territory and of using where appropriate the rapidly growing experience of other countries.

GOVERNMENT MEASURES OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Even where no government measures of social security are in operation, destitute people have somehow been maintained by relatives, friends and charitable organizations. These methods are, however, defective because some destitute people manage fairly well while others suffer extreme privation owing to the meagre and irregular help they are able to get. Also some charitably minded people voluntarily contribute substantially to assist the poor whereas other people act as though relief of the poor was none of their business and contribute little or nothing. Government schemes have the advantage of being less haphazard and more systematic both in the regular collecting of funds and in providing minimum standards of assistance for the poor. It must be emphasized, however, that government systems only provide a basis, and there is still great value in voluntary measures, which should therefore be encouraged to supplement the government's assistance. These include not only the work of benevolent organizations and Friendly Societies but also schemes at the workplace to provide sickness and maternity benefits, old age pensions, and payments based on length of employment to workers when their jobs are terminated by the employer.^a

In social security as in other matters the government is essentially an agent to organize measures for the community and it must obtain the necessary resources from workers, employers and taxpayers. It has no other sources of income for these purposes, and the cost of social security must be con-

^aIn some countries these are not voluntary but are obligations on employers in accordance with labour laws.

sidered along with all other items of government expenditure and in relation to the income of the community. Schemes of social security must necessarily be financially conservative. Many have run into difficulties because benefits were fixed at levels which were too high in relation to contributions. Benefits can later on be made more liberal if experience proves this to be financially practicable. Demands to make schemes too generous must be resisted if measures are to succeed. It is often argued, for example, that old age pensions should be paid in tropical countries from 60 years of age or even earlier. The cost of pensions increases rapidly as the age is lowered, and the cost from 60 years could be double that from 65 years. In West Indian territories, where population statistics show that large numbers of people are more than 70 years of age, and where the numbers are likely to increase, because of greater expectation of life resulting from improved health measures, the pensionable age should certainly not be less than 65 years, and might preferably, in the initial stages of a scheme, be several years older.^a

From the financial and administrative point of view a distinction is useful between short-term and long-term risks. Examples of the first are sickness and maternity, while old age and permanent invalidity whether arising from sickness or accident are examples of the second. Most sickness is for short periods of a few days to a few weeks, and although reserves must be built up to meet epidemics which cause an unusually large amount of sickness in some years, the income and expenditure for sickness benefits can be calculated mainly on a year-to-year basis. Also, changes in contributions and benefits can be made at any time. In inflationary periods the adjustment of the contributions and benefits of short-term schemes to changes in the value of money is relatively easy. On the other hand, old age pensions and other long-term schemes require actuarial information and calculations, and the administration may be faced with the accumulation of large sums to meet future payments. Furthermore, the adjustment of contributions and benefits to inflation and other changes in conditions is more complex than in short-term schemes.

When a government introduces a scheme of compulsory contributory insurance the position of private undertakings which have schemes covering the same risks must be considered.^b Often the most satisfactory method is to regard the government system as providing a minimum or basis of protection and for the schemes of private undertakings or groups of undertakings to be supplementary for the benefit of their own workpeople. Some firms may discontinue or modify their schemes when a government system comes into force. However, in Britain and the United States, for example,

^aIn Britain when pensions were first introduced by the Government the pensionable age was 70 years and the rate of pension small.

^bIn the West Indies a number of companies or groups of companies have established or are considering the establishment of retirement pensions and other schemes for the benefit of their own workers, some being contributory and others non-contributory.

many undertakings have introduced supplementary schemes which operate alongside those already established by the governments. A method of dealing with private schemes already in operation when a government system is introduced is to allow exemption from contribution to the government scheme if the benefits from the private scheme are accepted as equal to or superior to those of the government's scheme. The interests of workpeople who leave their employer to find work elsewhere must be safeguarded. In some private schemes which provide old age pensions workpeople who leave the firm may lose part or the whole of the employer's contribution. Exemption should be granted only with the provision that if a worker leaves the company there should be transferred for his benefit to the government an amount, determined by the length of his service with the company, equal to the total of the contributions of employer and worker, together with interest, which would have been accumulated if he had been employed by a company participating in the government's scheme.

NON-CONTRIBUTORY SCHEMES

In non-contributory schemes administered by public authorities, the benefits are paid out of the ordinary revenues of the country or of the parish or other local government unit, and those who may receive benefits do not contribute except in so far as they pay ordinary taxes. There is no link between contributions and benefits. This method has been supported on grounds of simplicity, as it avoids setting up a system to collect special contributions, and it is also argued that it is fair because taxation can be used to distribute burdens equitably on all members of the community, the better-off members paying progressively more than the poorer members. In the British West Indies poor relief and public assistance are financed in this way, and the people who benefit have not made any special contribution towards the revenues. As in other countries they receive assistance solely by proving their needs. As already indicated, even where contributory systems are highly developed, public assistance financed by non-contributory methods will be needed as part of the whole of social security, and the proportions in which each method will be applied in any country will depend on the conditions and social policy of the country.^a

Often in the past the provision of poor relief was based on the assumption that the poor were responsible for their poverty, and little if any allowance was made for misfortunes over which the individual had no control. In Britain nowadays the general trend is towards administering public assistance with greater understanding and sympathy, and the former harshness and severity

^aIn Britain, where increasing emphasis has been placed on specific contributions as a means of financing benefits, there are substantial parts of the social security system which are financed from the general revenues from ordinary taxation. This method is used to cover the substantial cost of National Assistance benefits; also family allowances in respect of each child after the first are non-contributory, and are paid out of the general revenues, as is a very high proportion of the cost of the National Health Services.

have been removed. There is, however, the question of "less eligibility," and the paying of poor relief at rates usually much below the amounts which a person could secure in wages when working. Also the means test was severe. It was assumed that the incentive to people to provide for themselves would be undermined and their moral fibre weakened unless relief were at a much lower standard than could be secured by working. This might be true of a small minority of degenerates and of people whose self-reliance has been undermined by long periods of misfortune and poverty. Generally, however, rates of benefit, whether in public assistance or insurance schemes, are substantially lower than the wages ordinarily earned by workers in the lowest paid occupations. In countries with high wage standards the difference between the wages of the lower paid workers and rates of assistance may be substantial and yet the benefits may be sufficient for subsistence. In some parts of the West Indies, however, where wages in the lowest paid occupations are at or near poverty standards, the payment of public assistance at rates much less than the low wages would be seriously below maintenance requirements, unless it is assumed that public assistance is supplemented by help from relatives, friends and charitable organizations.

As the cost of public assistance is met by the general revenues of the country, assistance should be available to any member of the community who is destitute. To exclude some categories of people would be unfair to them. Public assistance should not be restricted to certain regions or classes of workers as can contributory schemes. It should apply to rural as well as to urban populations. Also, benefits can be paid from the start without waiting for funds to accumulate, as is usually necessary in insurance schemes. Assistance may, however, be a heavy burden on government funds, as there is no special revenue to meet the expenditure.

CONTRIBUTORY INSURANCE SCHEMES

Contributions

In private insurance schemes the basic idea is that a group of people, any one of whom may experience a given risk of loss, for example, from fire, accident or premature death, join together to 'pool' the risk, each paying a contribution to create and maintain a fund from which those members of the group who suffer the loss draw amounts which will wholly or partially compensate for the loss. Usually contributions are big or little according as the risk is great or small. Social insurance schemes generally differ considerably from this system, except where employers are required to insure their liability to pay compensation to workers who are victims of industrial accidents. In most social insurance schemes insured workpeople pay only a part of the amount required to cover the benefits, the remainder being made up by contributions to the pool by employers and often by the government. Also the contributions are often not proportionate to the risks.

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Contributions are a form of taxation. When a scheme of benefits is started, the cost of the benefits is largely an addition to the community's expenditure, and revenue must be found to meet it. In social insurance schemes the usual method of raising the additional revenue is by collecting contributions from workpeople and employers, and the State may also contribute, though this will mean either increasing taxation or reducing other kinds of expenditures.^a The rates of contribution will depend on the levels of wages, the levels of income of different sections of the community and the way in which the burden of taxation is distributed between those sections. Where a large range of benefits is provided in a comprehensive scheme, including old age pensions, workpeople may contribute as much as 10 per cent of their wages, but in schemes restricted to sickness and accident they may pay only 3 or 4 per cent of their wages.

There is widespread support for the policy of obtaining substantial contributions from workpeople for whose benefit the schemes are mainly devised. Often they pay around 30 to 50 per cent of cost of insurance schemes, but as a group they receive substantially more in benefits than they pay in contributions.^b Contributors will be more keenly interested in schemes which they help to finance than if the benefits are paid as a 'dole'. They will recognize that they have a right to benefits and are not objects of charity. They will not have to submit to a means test before claiming benefits. Also irresponsible or exaggerated demands for increases in benefits will be kept in check when it is realized that bigger benefits will involve bigger contributions. The regular compulsory payment of contributions is in effect disciplined saving. To employers the contribution is a labour cost which they may be able to pass on, at least in part, to consumers, to workers by wage adjustments, or in other ways, though in industries which sell their products in world markets, including the sugar industry of the West Indies, the chance of passing on part of the cost to the consumer may be negligible.^c

In deciding rates of contribution one of the main considerations is the amount which workers can afford to pay, and this involves a study of wages, especially of the lowest paid.^d Highly paid workers can afford to pay bigger contributions than those with low wages. This is recognized in most countries by dividing the workers into classes according to the levels of their wages. Those in the higher wage classes pay bigger amounts as contributions and

^aContributions may be collected by the stamped card system or by payroll reporting.

^bWhen the British scheme of contributory insurance was first introduced the slogan "Ninepence for fourpence" was used, this indicating that for a contribution of fourpence a week the contributors as a group would receive ninepence in benefits, the difference being met by threepence contributed by the employers and twopence by the State.

^cReference has already been made to the benefits which the British West Indian sugar industry is deriving from the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement.

^dSome workers may reduce the amount of their voluntary savings when they have to pay compulsory insurance contributions. Also when benefits are paid, some workers may incur less expenditure for the support of sick or aged relatives. Such economies would help to cover part of the insurance contributions.

also become entitled to higher rates of benefit than those in the lower wage classes. Thus, contributions and benefits are broadly proportionate to the workers' earnings and standards of living.

This proportionate system must be contrasted with the flat rate system. The British method has always been to have the same flat rates of contribution and the same flat rates of benefit for high and for low paid people alike. The present National Insurance system applies this method. This system is easy to administer. It provides a basic minimum of social security for all alike. It leaves the higher paid workers freedom and responsibility for making voluntary arrangements to supplement the benefits they receive from the State scheme. These benefits will usually be low in relation to the standards of living of highly paid workers, but any supplementary arrangements they make can be appropriate to their own circumstances and those of their families. The flat rate system is more suitable for countries with high standards of living than for those where standards of living are low. Also its merits are greater in countries where the range between the wages of most skilled and unskilled workers is narrow than where it is wide. In West Indian territories the proportionate system would seem preferable. In these territories the wages in some occupations are very low and the contributions which these workers could afford to pay would be small, with correspondingly low rates of benefits. These benefits would be so small as to be of relatively little value to highly paid workers. In such circumstances the alternatives are either heavy subsidies by the State to increase benefits or the adoption of the proportionate system of contributions and benefits at rates varying with each of the main wage grades of workers. In some countries the number of grades is small, but in countries where there is a wide range between the wages of labourers and those of skilled workers there may be six grades or more.^a Administration is simpler if there are few grades, and in most Caribbean territories there would be advantages in limiting the number of grades to two or three.^b

Benefits

Social insurance benefits must be fixed at rates which will ensure solvency of the scheme. In periods of severe sickness or unemployment more may be paid out in benefits than the income from contributions, but such drain on reserves should be made up in good times. When starting a scheme it is prudent to fix benefits conservatively and to build up reserves. Then, after sufficient experience has been gained, if it is found that benefits can be increased without running into a deficit this should be done.

^aIn Venezuela, for example, there are six wage grades, each with its own rate of contribution and of benefit.

^bIt must be noted that where, as in sickness insurance, benefits are partly in cash and partly in kind (medical attention and hospital accommodation), the benefits in kind are uniform for workers in all grades, as each worker receives the treatment he needs, whether he is skilled or unskilled; only the cash benefits vary according to the grade of the worker. This may have the effect of the higher wage grades subsidizing the lower wage grades by their contributions.

Usually rates of benefit are much below the amounts which people earn when at work. In various schemes they mostly range between under one-third of wages to two-thirds of wages.^a Clearly therefore if the wages of the lowest paid workers are near to subsistence level, as in the West Indies, such rates of insurance benefits would be much below that level. Insurance benefits should be regarded as an aid and not as fully covering needs. They are rarely enough for subsistence, but though requiring to be supplemented by other sources, they provide a steady reliable means of mitigating hardship by helping people during periods of difficulty when income from work has ceased. Even in Britain where standards of living are higher than in the West Indies, the insurance rates of benefit are below British subsistence level. It follows, therefore, that people without other resources will have to apply, outside the insurance scheme, to the public assistance authorities for additional help. Also, partly at least in order to keep insurance schemes from running into debt, some benefits are paid only for limited periods. For example, sickness or unemployment insurance benefits are often restricted to eight or twelve weeks and are rarely continued beyond six months. At the end of such periods the benefits are stopped, and if the persons concerned are still sick or unemployed and are destitute they may have to apply for public assistance.^b

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Many people may think that old age is not a risk but a certainty, and so it is for large numbers of people. However, in making provision for old age there is a big element of risk. No young man can know whether he may die of a sudden illness when he is, say, 65 years of age and therefore need nothing for his old age, or whether he may live for 10 or 20 years after he is too old to work and would therefore require a large amount to maintain himself during this period. He does not know what his own expectation of life may be but population statistics can show what is the average expectation of life, and the cost of maintaining people beyond a specified retirement age at a given rate of pension can easily be calculated by actuarial methods. Then the rate of contribution to be paid by people throughout their working lives in order to provide such pensions can be calculated. By the con-

^aIn the United States maximum unemployment benefits are 50 per cent of wages, but this is effective only for the lower paid workers and the average is around one-third of wages. In Venezuela, sickness cash benefits are two-thirds of the wages for each of six wage grades. In Britain where the insurance benefits are at the same flat rate whether a worker has a high or low wage the proportion varies; for skilled men without dependents, the cash benefits may average only about 20 per cent of wages, and for unskilled men about 30 per cent. Unskilled men with wife and several children receive nearly 60 per cent of the wage, and skilled 40 to 45 per cent.

^bIn Britain the National Assistance payments are often appreciably higher than the rates of insurance benefits.

tributory insurance method the risk or uncertainty of the duration of old age can be pooled.^a

The Colonial Office, in its White Paper on *Social Security in the Colonial Territories*, when emphasizing that priority in dealing with different aspects must be determined by local circumstances in individual territories, made special reference to old age pensions, saying that "where a money economy is widespread, early attention would doubtless be given to the possibility of introducing a scheme of old age pensions" (1, p. 8). In the West Indies, a money economy is widespread, and also old age is one of the main causes of poverty, and better provision for aged people is one of the most urgent of social security needs in the region. Already non-contributory pensions are paid out of the ordinary revenues in several territories, including Trinidad, British Guiana and Barbados, but they are essentially part of public assistance schemes and provide relief only for extreme poverty.^b For example, in Barbados a person aged 68 (or 40 if blind) is eligible for a pension up to 5/- a week provided his total means including the pension do not exceed 7/3½d a week.^c In British Guiana the system is along similar lines but pensions are granted to persons from the age of 65 if their resources fall below the meagre standard of the means test. Poverty is so widespread among the aged that in British Guiana not far short of two out of every three persons of 65 years of age and over receive relief in the form of pensions. In Barbados in 1954 about 7 out of every 10 persons 68 years of age and over were in receipt of pensions paid out of Government funds, and the proportions of persons similarly dependent on Government charity is also high in other territories. These extremely high proportions are partly the result of low wages in the past, and of the inability of large numbers of workpeople to save substantially for their old age. As already indicated, the present pensions or scales of assistance are insufficient for the essential needs of aged people, who therefore rely heavily on the help of sons, daughters and other relatives and friends to help them. Usually this means a sacrifice which, especially among the poorer people, reduces the family standard of living and involves privation for the children. Some aged people supplement their pensions by small earnings, some receive small voluntary payments for long service from their former employers and some are aided by voluntary societies.

That such large proportions of the population should have nothing better to look forward to in their old age than destitution and dependence on public

^aThe pooling is greatest when the contributions of those who die before reaching pensionable age are used to meet part of the cost of those who draw pensions for many years. In the Pension Provident Fund scheme outlined later this pooling is not done, the only element of pooling being by the application to individuals on reaching pensionable age of the average expectation of life in calculating their rates of pension.

^bIn some of the territories, old age pensioners are granted free medical treatment and hospital accommodation.

^cHe must also be a British subject and have lived in Barbados for ten years before making his first application for a pension.

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relief after undergoing a severe means test is highly undesirable. Present wages and standards of living in the West Indies are now considerably higher than before the War and they provide a basis which formerly did not exist for the establishment of compulsory joint savings schemes which would enable large numbers of people to become independent of public relief in their old age. Small amounts paid regularly week by week in a government scheme become large amounts over the years, whereas very few people left to themselves to save voluntarily would show sufficient persistence to save enough to provide for their old age. In many parts of the West Indies most of the savings by workpeople whether in the Government Savings Bank or in Friendly Societies have been for short periods only, usually of not more than a year, and little is set aside for old age. While it is essential to retain the present non-contributory old age pensions or relief payments, to increase the rates of those pensions and to make the means test less severe, it is important to introduce some contributory system to provide old age pensions without a means test so that much smaller proportions of aged people would be dependent on public assistance.^a

On the basis of experience in other countries the most suitable compulsory saving scheme for Caribbean territories would be one to which employers and workers would contribute jointly. Wherever financial conditions make it practicable governments should also make regular contributions, but whether a government makes contributions or not it should undertake to meet the administrative costs incurred in operating the scheme. The financing must be devised so that the cost of the pensions will be covered by the contributions, actuarial calculations based on average expectation of life at the pensionable age being made for this purpose.^b

There are two main alternative kinds of contributory scheme to provide old age pensions:

- (1) Pension Provident Funds.
- (2) Fixed Rate Pension Schemes.

In Pension Provident Funds, contributions to the Fund are made by each worker and by his employer for any week in which the worker has been employed for, say, three days or more. These amounts are credited to each worker separately, together with his share of any amount contributed by the government. They are accumulated in his account year by year, and appropriate rates of compound interest added. On reaching a specified age, for example, 65 years, a worker could be offered the following options:

^aSome governments provide non-contributory old age pensions for their own established civil servants, the pensions being part of their conditions of service; large numbers of workpeople employed by government departments do not receive pensions. Some private employers also have pension schemes but usually the employees and the employers contribute jointly to the pension fund.

^bFor convenience of administration, the Post Office organization might be used for receipt of contributions, keeping of accounts and payments of pensions, a separate division being set up somewhat similar to the Post Office Savings Bank.

- (a) a pension for life, the amount of which would be calculated actuarially on the basis of his accumulated credit;
- (b) a joint pension for life for himself and his wife;
- (c) a pension for life, with a guaranteed payment for a period of 5 or 10 years in the event of the worker dying before receiving his pension for the period of the guarantee, his dependents benefiting during the remainder of the period.

Other options could be offered, for example a pension for life based on part of the accumulated credit, the remainder of the credit being paid as a lump sum.^a The various options would enable the differing circumstances of individuals to be met. Workers who became permanently incapacitated before reaching the pensionable age would receive benefits based on their accumulated credits, as would the dependents of workers who died before reaching that age.

Fixed Rate Pension Schemes are similarly based on joint contributions, but provided a worker has contributed for a minimum number of years, he receives a pension at a specified rate without variation in accordance with the amount of his individual accumulations. Also the contributions in respect of a worker who dies before reaching the age at which pensions are paid are not available for his dependents or his estate, unless part of the contributions are earmarked for this purpose and the rate of pension correspondingly reduced.

For the West Indies the Pension Provident Fund method seems preferable to Fixed Rate Pension Schemes, especially when first introducing a contributory system to provide for old age. It seems well suited to present social and economic conditions and to the psychology of the peoples of the Caribbean region. It is easy to understand. The amount of pension is directly proportionate to the rate of contribution and the length of contributory employment. It is flexible and easily administered, and much of the accountancy work could be mechanized. In the West Indies workers have experience of contributing to Friendly Societies and of drawing benefits in proportion to their contributions. Workers within a few years of retirement when the scheme was started would receive after retirement the sums standing to their credit, whereas with the Fixed Rate Pension method no one would receive a pension for at least 10 or 15 years after the start, unless the government paid a heavy subsidy, which may not be financially practicable in West Indian territories. Some provision is made for invalidity and for widows and

^aThe option of claiming a life pension at 60 years of age could be offered, though the pension at 60 would be substantially less than at 65.

Workers who had contributed to the Fund only during a few years and whose accumulated credit was small could be paid monthly or quarterly amounts until the credit was exhausted. This would apply to workers who were within a few years of the pensionable age when contributions to the Fund began. Governments could consider making lump sum contributions which would be credited in suitable amounts to contributors who were, say, 50 years of age when the scheme started, and therefore enable them to receive bigger benefits on retirement than would be possible on the basis of the few years during which they had paid contributions.

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orphans, as already indicated. The scheme would provide valuable information and experience, and later on if desired it could without difficulty be converted into a Fixed Pension Scheme.

In periods of rapid inflation and of big increases in wages the Pension Provident Fund method has the disadvantage that the real value or purchasing power of past contributions falls and pensions would be low in relation to current wages. This could be met in part by increasing the rates of contribution from time to time as wages rise; also governments might make special contributions to compensate partially for the inflationary trend. In periods of reasonable stability of currency values this problem does not arise, while any scheme for providing old age pensions will encounter financial difficulties in times of serious inflation.

It would be attractive to recommend flat rate contributions, each worker, irrespective of whether his wages were high or low, paying the same amount into the fund each week, and his employer paying an equal amount. This is the system adopted in Britain, and it is easy to administer.^a In most countries, however, workers are classified into grades according to their levels of wages, and higher or lower contributions are paid on the basis of the wage grade. In the West Indies the system of graded contributions seems desirable because of the quite big differences between the wages of skilled and unskilled workers. Pensions based on contributions which the lowest paid workers could afford would be unduly small in relation to their wages for highly paid skilled workers. The number of grades each with its specified rate of contribution should, however, be small in order to keep the administrative work easy. Probably three grades, for highly paid, intermediate, and low paid workers (corresponding broadly with skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers) would be adequate, with perhaps an additional grade for low-paid women workers because of the small wages many of them receive in the West Indies.

The amount of the contribution by workers, at a fixed rate for each grade, should be broadly within the range of 3 to 5 per cent of their wages, which together with the employers' contribution would total around 6 to 10 per cent of wages. Contributions much below 3 per cent would be insufficient to provide reasonable pensions, while more than 5 per cent would be too heavy a burden on many workers. Contributions should begin when workers are 18 or 20 years of age, but in territories where young workers move frequently from one employer to another a somewhat higher age when employment became more stable might be fixed.

A matter of importance in the administration of contributory old age pension schemes is the accumulation of contributions. In the early years very much more is paid into the funds as contributions than is paid out in pen-

^aAs the rate of contribution is based on what workers with low wages can afford to pay, it throws upon more highly paid workers a responsibility for supplementing the State scheme by voluntary savings if they wish to have a better income in their old age than the amount of the National Insurance pension.

sions and only after 25 or 30 years may inflow and outflow tend to become substantially equal. Some people may contribute for 40 years or more before drawing pensions. Therefore over several decades a very large fund will be established, and this raises difficult financial questions, including the safe and remunerative investment of the money and avoiding capital depreciation. If the government will guarantee the payment, out of its annual revenues, of the pensions when they become due, and also of interest to the fund, it could use the surpluses of the early years for remunerative economic developments, and the pension fund would in effect be mainly a bookkeeping record. Investments should be in undertakings which would retain their capital value and yield steady income over many years. Carefully planned housing schemes would be one means of investment. Confidence in the integrity and efficiency of governments is essential.^a

It must be noted that the setting aside of contributions in a fund this year, next year and so on, will not feed, clothe and house the contributors 30 or 40 years hence. People of working age in the next generation, some of whom are not yet born, will by their work have to grow the food and provide the other goods and services required by those who have then retired from work and live on what their pensions will buy. However, by contributing now for old age pensions in the future the contributors are in effect saving, and if these savings are invested in capital goods which will increase production in the future, that increased production will facilitate the provision of the pensions when the time comes. Thus, the workers of the present generation can make provision for their needs when they retire by passing on to the workers of the next generation capital equipment which will help to produce the goods needed for the maintenance of the aged. These resources and not a nominal fund of money are the means by which future benefits can be provided.

The way individual accumulations in a Provident Fund would grow and the amount of pension which they would provide are illustrated by the figures given below. They are for a worker who contributed 40 cents a week regularly for 50 weeks in each year for the specified number of years, whose employer contributed similar amounts on behalf of the worker, with 2% per cent compound interest credited to the worker's account. If contributions were at higher or lower rates the accumulations and rates of pension would be correspondingly more or less than those shown. For workpeople who, owing to seasonal unemployment or other causes, contributed for less than 50 weeks a year, the sums accumulated and the amounts of pension would be proportionately less.

^aAnother way of financing pensions is the 'assessment' or 'pay as you go' method by which the contributions are fixed for a period of, say, 3 or 5 years at a rate sufficient to cover the cost of the pensions which will be paid out during that period. This avoids the accumulation of large funds in the early years, but rates of contribution have to be changed every few years, and the government must be able to guarantee payment of pensions at a time, several decades in the future, when the number of pensioners and therefore the cost of pensions reaches the maximum. The assessment method would not be suitable for use with a Pension Provident Fund.

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NUMBER OF YEARS OF CONTRIBUTION	AMOUNT ACCUMULATED \$ (B.W.I.)	APPROXIMATE MONTHLY PENSION FOR LIFE FROM AGE 65 \$ (B.W.I.)
15	717	5.80
25	1,366	11.20
35	2,197	18.00
45	3,256	28.00

The figures show that the monthly pensions would be substantial for long-period contributors. The pension rates given are for men; those for women would be somewhat less because their expectation of life at 65 years of age is nearly two and a half years more than that of men. The rates of pension shown are guaranteed for a minimum period of 5 years, so that if a contributor died within that period the pension would be continued for his dependents during the remainder of the 5 years.^a

The main advantages of a Compulsory Pension Provident Fund to which employers and workers would contribute jointly may be summarized as follows:

(1) As a form of savings it would ensure a basis of security for aged people. The pension which would be obtained would be of great help to large numbers of thrifty people who desire to be self-reliant, and would enable them to avoid having to apply for public assistance. They would have the right to benefits from their accumulated savings without having to undergo any means test.

(2) The heavy burden which is frequently borne by sons and daughters in supporting aged parents at considerable sacrifice to themselves and their own children would be reduced or removed.

(3) Some provision would be made for wage earners who had become permanent invalids before reaching retirement age and were unable to earn their own livelihood.

(4) Some provision would be made for the widow, children and other dependents of a worker who died before reaching retirement age. The funds accumulated for him would not be lost if he died prematurely but would be used for the benefit of his family. This automatic provision for dependents makes the Provident Fund method particularly attractive. The benefits for widows and orphans, and also for invalids, could readily be increased from government funds in accordance with a specified scale.

PROVISION FOR SICKNESS

Two different but related problems for sick people with low incomes must be examined. One is the securing of medical treatment including any necessary hospital accommodation either free or at low cost. The other is the maintenance of the sick person and his dependents if his sickness prevents

^aThe pension rates would be higher than those shown in the table if a contributor preferred a life pension without the five year guarantee.

him from working and his earnings cease. In Britain the National Health Service provides free medical treatment and hospitalization, and the cost is largely met by the Government from its ordinary revenues.^a In the British West Indies large numbers of poor people obtain free medical treatment including accommodation in Government hospitals provided their wages are below a specified amount or they obtain a certificate from a justice of the peace, a minister of religion, a public assistance officer or other approved authority confirming that they could not afford to pay for treatment. The means test is usually severe. Other low income patients can obtain hospital accommodation in public wards for a small daily payment which is only a very small fraction of the cost, and the total revenue obtained from these payments is small.^b

Any social security programme in the West Indies should include extension of free medical treatment to all employed persons whose wages or salaries are less than a specified amount, for example, under 20 dollars (B.W.I.) a week. It should apply also to the dependents of such workers, and should be available as a right without any stigma of pauperism. The cost should be borne mainly by the government out of its ordinary revenues, but a token amount could be paid towards medical and hospital services from the funds of any contributory sickness insurance scheme which might be established along the lines indicated below. The right to free medical treatment and hospital services can only be extended when the necessary services and accommodation are available. In most West Indian territories hospitals are overcrowded, and there are long waiting periods for admission by people who need operations which are not urgent. There is often also much congestion at urban out-patient clinics and dispensaries, involving long tedious waiting. In rural areas medical facilities are usually inadequate. More health centres or dispensaries are needed in the country districts so that one would be available reasonably near the homes of all the people except those in sparsely populated areas. The work of these centres would include maternity and infant welfare. In the larger territories more small cottage hospitals should be available in the country districts where the less serious cases could be treated, thereby relieving pressure on the accommodation of the central hospitals. More doctors and nurses will be required for such expanded facilities. The governments in several territories are already applying programmes to increase the medical services, but it must be emphasized that in preparing programmes account should be taken not only of the need to remedy present shortages but to provide for the rapidly growing populations. Also in each territory the public medical services should be combined in a unified

^aA small part of the Health Service is covered by money transferred from National Insurance Funds, and by sundry charges including small payments when medicines and other medical supplies are prescribed by a doctor.

^bBetter accommodation in private wards is available for those who can afford to pay higher daily rates, and the charges for operations are substantial for these patients. Even for such paying patients the hospital services are heavily subsidized by the Governments.

administration; at present in some territories the rural medical services are controlled by the parishes and not by the Director of Medical Services.^a

Turning now to the provision of income in the form of cash benefits for those whose earnings cease when they are sick, this is already done in the West Indies by the method of poor relief or public assistance, small cash grants being made to destitute persons after a severe means test. In some territories, many people make some provision by contributing voluntarily each week to Friendly Societies, which pay sickness benefits and also maternity and funeral grants, as well as serving as thrift or savings funds by the method of paying out a large part of their resources once a year to their members.^b Sickness benefits in cash are paid by some societies at a specified rate for six weeks and at half rate for a further six weeks. The rates vary according to the rate of weekly contribution made by a member to the society. Some societies pay either the whole or one-half the cost of a visit to or by a doctor, and also a reasonable sum for the medicines he prescribes. Usually the amount of any sickness benefit drawn by a member during the year is deducted from the savings bonus paid to him at the end of the year.

In addition to the sickness benefits paid by the public assistance authorities and by Friendly Societies, consideration should be given in West Indian territories to the starting of contributory sickness insurance schemes which would mainly provide cash benefits, but which might also pay a proportion of their funds for the improvement of the public medical services. The success of sickness insurance depends on there being well-organized medical services, whether public or private or both. Contributory sickness insurance would be more systematic and effective than either public assistance or friendly societies. It should apply to all workpeople whose earnings are below a specified amount, and in the initial stages to those who were employed in undertakings with five or more such workpeople. When the administrative system was working smoothly, workpeople in smaller undertakings could be brought in. Each worker would make a small weekly contribution, and his employer would pay a similar amount. If a Pension Provident Fund had also been established the contributions to the pension and sickness schemes would be paid together. Sickness benefits would be paid on production of an approved medical certificate for periods not exceeding, say, six weeks in any year, but the benefit periods could be extended if experience showed this to be financially practicable. For women workers who had paid the necessary number of qualifying contributions, cash maternity benefits could be paid for four or six weeks at the same rate as sickness benefit. Excluding invalidity, for which special arrangements are necessary, most sickness is for short

^aIn some territories the almshouses in rural areas provide for the sick, the aged and orphans. Provision for orphans should certainly be made independently of these institutions, and as far as practicable the aged who are not sick and have no relatives to care for them should have separate accommodation in homes for the aged.

^bIn practice, the main purpose of most Friendly Societies is to serve as short-term saving schemes, the sickness payments and funeral grants being secondary.

periods and this makes the financing of sickness insurance much easier than that of old age pensions and other long-term benefits. Most of the contributions in any year are paid out in benefits during that year; there is no need to accumulate large funds, and no complications arise if from time to time it is considered desirable to change the rates of contribution or the rates and duration of benefits or both.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT

Unemployment and seasonal underemployment are severe in many Caribbean territories, and, although reliable information is rarely available, unemployment in some territories may range from 10 per cent in busy seasons of the year to 20 per cent or more in slack seasons. These high figures are not those in years of depression but are normal in years of average prosperity, and they are being aggravated by pressure on limited resources of rapid growth of population in recent years resulting from improved health conditions including measures to reduce malaria. There is also a special problem of underemployment among children after leaving school. It is estimated, for example, that in Barbados about one-third of boys after leaving school do not find regular employment for several years until they are physically strong enough for the heavy work required in agriculture and some other occupations. During the intervening years they may do some work, often as messengers and in other 'blind alley' occupations, but such employment is usually casual and irregular, and bad habits are liable to be formed.

In such circumstances of heavy unemployment, would it be practicable to introduce contributory unemployment insurance? The answer is "No," partly because of the large amount of unemployment, and also for other reasons. Unemployment insurance is not suitable for severe long-term or permanent unemployment. Thus, in Britain in the years of great depression in the early 1930's the system of contributory unemployment insurance could not stand the financial strain of heavy unemployment; in effect it became bankrupt, and the Government had to provide large subsidies for the assistance of those who were out of work for long periods. The essential purpose for which unemployment insurance should be used is to provide benefits mainly for workpeople who lose regular jobs and are temporarily unemployed for a few weeks or at most a few months. A substantial and stable labour force is necessary as a basis for unemployment insurance.

The negative answer in the preceding paragraph must not be taken to imply that little or nothing can be done about unemployment in Caribbean territories and that the situation is hopeless. What it does imply is that unemployment insurance is not the solution, and that other measures must be tried. The first step is to make a comprehensive enquiry in each territory to find out the magnitude of unemployment, how much of it is seasonal, recurring each year, what is the length of time individual workers remain unemployed, and how much underemployment there is, including the number of days

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a week worked by underemployed persons. Information is needed to show whether unemployment is largely concentrated among the same people or is spread in different periods over a larger part of the working population. Also, although it may be known that unemployment is greater in some districts than in others, there are rarely reliable measures of these local differences. Figures should be compiled separately for each of the main industries, occupations and regions, with information for adult males, adult females and juveniles. Also, in compiling figures to show the amount of unemployment, those persons who, because of old age, physical or other infirmities, are virtually unemployable, should be excluded from the totals of the unemployed. Until adequate information is available, effective plans for dealing with unemployment and underemployment cannot be made. Reasonably reliable facts must be known first. Some such enquiries are being made in some territories, and should be undertaken in others.^a Without adequate facts, policies are likely to fumble and grope in the dark and mistakes be made.

When the magnitude of the problem is known, together with detailed information of the kinds indicated in the preceding paragraph, remedies can be considered. It is a truism to say that the best remedy for unemployment and underemployment is to find more work. Consider first the problem of seasonal unemployment. The cultivation of sugar cane, and of other crops, and work in sugar factories and other processing undertakings are by their nature highly seasonal, and such activities are the basis of the economic life of the Caribbean territories. The year is divided into several months during which there is a big demand for labour and earnings are relatively high, but these are followed by the 'out-of-crop' season when weeding and preparation of the ground provides employment for only two or three days a week for some workers and none at all for others. These months have been traditionally and properly described as 'hard times.'

Such regularly recurring seasonal unemployment and underemployment can be dealt with in two ways, the first being to provide opportunities for work to fill the gaps during the out-of-crop months, and the second to spread the earnings of the busy season as evenly as possible throughout the year. Wherever possible the seasonal agricultural labourers should have small plots of ground up to an acre in size on which they can work during the slack months and so contribute towards their subsistence. Cottage crafts suitable for men and women should be encouraged, and facilities provided for marketing the goods produced. The public works programmes of governments should be planned so that as much of the work as possible is concentrated in the months of seasonal unemployment. This should include the maintenance and improvement of roads, housing schemes, and the construction of schools, hospitals

^aIn Barbados, the Government arranged in 1954 for an investigation to be made by a member of the Staff of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies. The governments of some territories have hitherto been unwilling, for political reasons, to initiate enquiries into unemployment.

and other public buildings. Private employers also can assist by reserving special demands for labour as much as possible for the months when little work is needed on farms and plantations.

Various ways are adopted for spreading the relatively high earnings of the crop season more evenly throughout the year, and they are suitable for development. Many workers save during the good months in order to have resources when their earnings are small or non-existent. Often the Government Savings Banks and the Friendly Societies are used for this purpose. Some receive credit from shopkeepers during hard times and pay these debts when money is more plentiful. Particularly interesting is an agreement between the Sugar Producers' Federation of Barbados and the Barbados Workers' Union for a production bonus based on the tonnage of sugar produced in any year, the bonus being paid during the period of the year when the sugar workers have little work.^a This method could be extended and others devised to spread the earnings of seasonal workers more evenly through the year. If privately agreed methods proved inadequate or impracticable, governments could establish schemes for seasonal industries by which funds would be accumulated in good months and paid out during the hard times. These various schemes are seasonal forms of the method adopted by Joseph in early biblical times in Egypt when he stored up supplies in the seven fat years in order to meet the needs of the people in the seven lean years.

For long-term, as distinct from seasonal, unemployment, there is no easy solution in territories which have become or are becoming overpopulated, which is the situation in many parts of the West Indies. Wherever practicable, existing industries should be expanded, and new ones started, including a variety of small scale industries. Smaller families, so that children may have better opportunities, provide the best remedy. The fullest use should be made of openings for emigration, including short-term migration to the United States for agriculture and similar work. For youths for whom work is not available on leaving school some simple form of training or other suitable activity should be provided. They could be taught the elements of agriculture, woodworking and similar jobs, the purpose being not to train them to become highly skilled craftsmen but to be handymen able to do various kinds of work suited to the ordinary life of the people in rural areas. They might also work on community improvement schemes in the villages. Such instruction could be combined with physical training, games and other activities appropriate to a youth welfare centre. It should be possible to recruit instructors locally and provide the necessary tools and materials at low cost.

Until the problems of long-term unemployment are nearing solution it would not be expedient to consider the introduction of a comprehensive system of unemployment insurance, though special schemes for individual industries might be feasible. Public assistance should be available for the relief

^aIn some recent years when sugar output has been high, the bonus has amounted to 10 per cent or more of wages, and the amounts received have been equal to three or four weeks' wages.

of distress, although it has been a practice in various Caribbean territories to restrict relief mainly to the aged and infirm and to women with dependent children, and assistance for able-bodied unemployed men has been exceptional.

WORKMEN'S ACCIDENT COMPENSATION

British territories in the Caribbean region generally provide that, in accordance with the terms of legislation, workpeople who are the victims of accidents while at work shall be entitled to compensation. This is based on the principle of employers' liability, and the laws require each employer to insure his liability with private insurance companies unless he is granted exemption by public authority on the ground that he would be able to meet his liability without having it covered by insurance. These laws are based on the system which formerly operated in the United Kingdom, but new principles and methods were introduced by the Industrial Injuries Insurance Act which came into force after the Second World War, and, in the light of these changes, it would seem desirable that Caribbean governments should consider whether their own systems need amendments.

A distinction must be drawn between temporary disablement, permanent disablement, and death. In the British West Indies compensation for temporary disablement usually consists of cash payments, until recovery, of amounts based on the wages of the injured worker, the proportion generally being about one-half of the weekly wage.^a For fatal accidents the compensation is a lump sum which may be equal to two or three years' wages (subject to a minimum and maximum amount), and, especially where the dependents are children, the compensation is paid in monthly instalments extending over several years. Adults who suffer total permanent disablement may receive compensation equal to four years' wages, and for minors the amount may be equal to seven or eight years' wages. For partial permanent disablement the compensation is a percentage of the amount for total permanent disablement, the percentage being fixed in accordance with the degree of disablement. Both for total and partial permanent disablement, the laws give power for the compensation to be paid in monthly or quarterly instalments until the whole amount has been paid, but this is rarely done, the compensation being almost invariably paid as a lump sum.

In considering reforms of the present system in the British West Indies, it may not be desirable at present to adopt the unified comprehensiveness of the British Industrial Injuries Insurance system.^b Other changes are more urgent. The most serious weakness in the West Indies is the payment of lump

^aIn Barbados the cash compensation for adults is equal to one-half of the weekly wage, subject to a maximum, and for minors (under 17 years of age) it is equal to two-thirds of the weekly wage.

^bIn the present British system of Industrial Injuries Insurance, the rates of payment are not based upon the earnings of the injured worker. The payments are the same whether a worker is skilled or unskilled. For permanent injuries they are fixed according to loss of faculty, the loss of an arm, for example, entitling the injured worker to a specified percentage of the payment for total incapacity.

sums to workers who are permanently disabled. It is true that an amount of 2,000 or 3,000 West Indian dollars seems a very attractive sum to a worker whose weekly wage had been only \$12 or \$15, and most workers if given the choice would take a lump sum rather than a life pension. Yet this would usually be the wrong decision. Often the lump sum is quickly used, either in wasteful and unnecessary expenditure, or in trying to set up a business for which the disabled worker has little or no capacity or experience. Often after a year or two no money is left. Especially for totally disabled young men in their twenties or thirties a lump sum equal to three or four years' wages is soon exhausted, even if carefully used, and they then have to face 30 or 40 years without any further compensation, and be unable to maintain themselves by their work. The same argument applies to the lesser lump sum compensation payments for partial permanent disablement.

There are, therefore, weighty considerations in favour of replacing the system of lump sum payments by monthly or quarterly life pensions for workpeople who suffer total permanent disablement, and for those whose partial disablement causes permanent incapacity of more than 25 or 30 per cent. Where the degree of disablement is small the lump sum method of compensation should be retained. In fixing the amount of pension for serious disablement this could either be a proportion, e.g., one-half or two-thirds, of the injured worker's wage, or a flat rate system could be adopted, the pension being a similar reasonable proportion of average wages. The advantages of the pension system over lump sum payments would be substantial for the great majority of permanently injured workers.^a The cost would be somewhat higher than the present system, but the cost of an adequate system of industrial accident pensions is never a heavy burden. In Britain with its many industries the cost spread over the whole community amounts to only a few pence a worker a week, and in the Caribbean territories, which are much less industrialized and are mainly agricultural with lower accident rates, it would be considerably less in proportion than in Britain.^b

Consideration should be given to the amendment of the laws in order to provide that the amount of cash compensation should be additional to the cost of medical treatment required by an injured worker. Surgical treatment, medicines, hospital accommodation, and apparatus should be a liability of the employer, instead of their cost being deducted from the amount of cash compensation.

Governments should also examine the practicability of setting up their own system for insuring the liability of employers to compensate injured workpeople. This might prove less costly than insurance with private companies. If governments should decide to do this, they could consider the adoption of a flat rate of contribution to a workmen's compensation fund by all em-

^aFor workers who were over 60 years of age when injured the difference might be small, but for almost all younger workers the pension would provide much greater security.

^bFor example, in Barbados in 1952 there were 10 cases of permanent disablement, only 1 of which was total, and in 1953 the number of cases of permanent disablement was 6, all of them partial.

ployers irrespective of the industry. The present rates of premiums paid to private insurance companies vary according to the estimated accident risk of each industry, being as small as 1 to 1.5 per cent per annum of the amount covered for agriculture and other low risk occupations, around 2 per cent for transport workers, but being as high as 3 per cent or more for employers whose workpeople load and unload ships. A flat rate contribution may seem a novel suggestion, though it is applied in Britain. Is it not fairer, it may be asked, for the premiums to be higher for the occupations where the risks are greater? The flat rate system, however, which is the one now adopted in Britain, is based on the principle that all industries in a community depend upon one another. The higher risk of injury among workpeople engaged in loading ships is incurred in doing work from which everyone benefits. The loading of sugar or bananas is a direct continuation of the work done on the farms and plantations where accident risks are less. The work of unloading imported goods is necessary for supplying the shops and those who buy the goods. It is a thoroughly sound social principle that employers in industries with low risks should contribute equally to help in covering the greater risks in other occupations upon which they depend. This would mean a small increase in the rates of premium paid by industries in which accident risks are small, and a substantial reduction of premiums in industries where accident risks are great.

As already indicated, compensation in the British West Indies is based on the earnings of the injured worker, a highly paid worker receiving more in compensation than one whose wages are low. This method should be retained. It may be noted, however, that in the present British system of Industrial Injuries Insurance the benefits are fixed according to "loss of faculty," the same rate being paid for the loss of an eye, leg or arm whether the injured person is in a low wage unskilled job or in highly paid skilled employment.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF HOUSE OWNERSHIP

The ownership by workpeople of the houses in which they live is one of the firmest foundations for social security and social stability. It is well suited to conditions in the West Indies and should be actively encouraged by governments. With suitable safeguards, it is one of the best forms of thrift if the houses are well maintained. Such property retains its real value free from the effects of inflation, which reduces the value of money savings because, in periods of inflation, the purchasing power of the monetary unit falls. Workpeople who save in order to become the owners of the houses in which they live thereby make provision for a better standard of living during the later years of their working lives, and they are also providing for their old age because they would then live rent free and would be the owners of valuable properties.

Throughout the West Indies, house ownership is keenly desired by large sections of the population, and already considerable numbers of people own

their homes. In rural areas the ownership also of a small plot of ground, from a quarter of an acre to an acre in size, is an ambition of the more self-reliant among the population. With such land they can raise their standard of living substantially by the food they produce in their spare time, including periods of seasonal slackness of employment.

Many Caribbean governments are faced with the need to undertake large-scale housing programmes, and for many years ahead housing will be one of the big problems in these territories. There are slums to be cleared, other houses now unsuitable for human habitation to be replaced, and new houses are also needed to remedy over-crowding, which has resulted from past deficiencies in house building, while a steady increase in the number of houses will be required to meet the needs of the growing populations. Such a period seems particularly opportune for the governments to devise comprehensive schemes for the encouragement of house ownership.

The resources of people in the lowest income groups would often be insufficient to enable them to contemplate ownership of their own homes, and even to pay an economic rent for the houses they occupy. In order that such people may be adequately housed, government subsidies are required, and are likely long to remain a part of a comprehensive government housing scheme. For other sections of the community, including the better-paid thrifty workpeople, suitable housing can be provided without subsidy mainly by one of the following ways: (1) aided self-help building assisted and regulated by the government; (2) building by the government either by direct labour or by contract; (3) private building.

Several types of houses will be required to meet the needs of people with different levels of income; especially for those with modest incomes the costs should be carefully adjusted to what the people can afford to pay. Usually those who take part in a house ownership scheme should be required to make an initial or 'down' payment of 20 or 25 per cent of the cost, the remaining part being advanced to them as a loan which they will repay by monthly instalments. Some low-cost houses constructed mainly of timber may have a life of only 15 years or even less, and for such houses the monthly instalments should be such that the loan is repaid within seven or eight years, so that, except for maintenance and repairs, the owner would have a similar period subsequently without having payments to make. The monthly instalments need be little if any more than the rents which have to be paid for similar houses. For solidly built durable houses the rate of monthly instalment to cover the loan might provide for repayment over a period of 20 or 25 years. The houses should, however, be so well constructed that, with reasonable upkeep costs, they would have a further life of 30 or 40 years at least, so that, except for maintenance, the owners would enjoy their homes free of cost for the rest of their working lives and would have a valuable property in their old age.

CONCLUSION

Social security is only one part of the campaign against freedom from want, and it must be integrated in a much larger programme if the welfare of the people is to be established on sure foundations. Social security is essentially a redistribution of resources; it mainly transfers goods and services from the fortunate to the needy, without adding directly to total resources. Only by economic measures to increase production can the wages and standards of living of the fortunate and needy alike be substantially raised. Such measures should be directed both to increasing efficiency and to expanding the demand for labour so that unemployment and underemployment would be minimized, thereby reducing the burden of relief of unemployment. Measures for the rehabilitation of injured persons, health services to reduce the amount and duration of sickness, and the organizing of productive work suitable for the older workers so that they may remain active as long as possible all help to raise the total resources of the community, reduce the burden of social security and are of direct benefit to the individuals who are disabled, sick or aged. Better education and housing are also vital elements. Such integrated programmes are needed in the West Indies as in other countries.

In the field of social security the British West Indian territories are considering what new measures to adopt to supplement by insurance their long established systems of poor relief. Many of the territories have common social problems, the foundations of their economic life are broadly the same, several of them have fairly similar standards of living, and are in a similar stage of economic development, and there are close resemblances in their administrative standards and experience. In these circumstances there would be advantages in holding a regional conference which would be attended by representatives from each territory and by experts from countries with more developed social security systems, for the discussion of social security measures most suited to West Indian conditions.

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See opposite page

Depreciation Policy and the Investment Stream

By

H. D. HUGGINS AND E. R. CHANG

A previous paper (1) discussed certain aspects of investment flow. One aspect of the depreciation inter-relationships which received passing reference related to the implications of depreciation policy for the investment flow.

In principle depreciation charges depend on the concept that there should be a charge against the operating revenue of a given period for the estimated value of fixed assets which are consumed in that period. In practice the income tax legislation and the accountant have devised an impressively varied collection of methods for putting this concept into effect. The typical text in book-keeping will list nine or more principal methods of providing depreciation. Some of these methods, while differing, are basically the same in approach. In others the differences in method are of a kind that depreciation policy can have an influence, first, on the proportion of the capital value of the assets set aside annually and, secondly, on the relationship between depreciation and investment. There are three broad categories which are representative of the methods commonly followed in determining the basis of depreciation allocations:

- (a) *Straight Line Method;*
- (b) *Diminishing Balance Method;*
- (c) *Sinking Fund Method.*

Before one discusses implications of the differences of these three methods, some orientation is necessary. In his well-known passage on depreciation, Keynes pointed to the possibly grave danger of high depreciation accumulations (2) and he illustrated his argument. The rapid capital expansion in the United States in the years just before 1929 led to the setting aside of replacement funds on a scale that required embarrassingly large new investment and the difficulties of meeting this requirement in a wealthy community in full employment were probably enough to cause a slump; in 1935 in the United Kingdom the amortization of loans (made previously for a heavy house building programme) more rapidly than required for replacement provided balances which, not being associated with corresponding new investment opportunities, made full employment difficult. In this context there are, clearly, reservations to policies encouraging generous depreciation and amortization accumulations.

Unfortunately certain statistical errors were allowed to remain in Tables 1 to 6 in the paper by H. D. Huggins and E. R. Chang which appeared in Vol. 5, No. 2 of *Social and Economic Studies* (University College of the West Indies). A corrected reprint is now provided.

Editor.

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The context in the underdeveloped territories is different and is best understood if one recognizes not only the problem of unemployment but also that of underemployment. There is one category of the so-called underdeveloped territories (including certain parts of Central and South America) where there is a shortage of labour and where unemployment cannot be said to be a problem. Both in this and the other category where unemployment is massive (including most of the West Indies and Asia) underemployment prevails. Underemployment is therefore to be reckoned with in both categories and in its universality in the underdeveloped territories gives significance to the investment stream—its volume and its contributing sources—when problems of economic growth are under consideration. One may think of three types of underemployment—cyclical, frictional and structural. For this discussion we can largely ignore cyclical underemployment (including the disguised unemployment which arises when cyclical conditions reduce the demand for the export of primary products and when workers are then forced to engage in 'inferior' employment). One can also ignore frictional underemployment (including the type of underemployment which arises in time of economic expansion when the inflationary movement attracts the unemployed to the urban areas and to services, e.g. peddling, which can give only low returns). Structural underemployment is a dominant feature of underdeveloped economies and has its origins in a low ratio of productive equipment (including adequately developed land) to labour resources. This type of structural underemployment already widespread in the agricultural sector can become greater when better management on farms (associated with higher farm capitalization) leads to farms of more economic size than peasant farms; this in turn leads to the use of equipment (e.g. ploughs) and to an unlikelihood of increase in labour employed in agriculture. It is not only in agriculture that structural underemployment is common. Social prestige and tradition encourage the prevalence of domestic servants in the home and of extra handy-men in the business place. Were there sufficient demand other than in the household many women who limit their activities to domestic chores could increase the community's production by work outside of the home.

While therefore the productive agent, labour, is in abundant supply it is difficult to increase income beyond a certain point without an increase in productive equipment. There is a certain level beyond which, with the known skills, income is unlikely to increase. An addition to the stock of productive equipment can (with the right supporting conditions) lead to an absorption of some of the unemployed and underemployed pool and to a higher level of income. In these circumstances the size of the investment stream is one of the limiting factors to economic growth. This is especially so in communities where levels of savings are low and this type of investment and labour relationship has been discussed by Navarrett (3). The evaluation of the appropriateness of the different depreciation policies depends on whether one looks at the problem from the point of view of the employment minded

economists or from the investment required in the underdeveloped territories to secure as high as possible an increase in income from the available resources.

A series of tables (Tables 1 to 6) indicate the relationships between sums put aside for depreciation by the three methods—straight line, diminishing balance and sinking fund. The figures are based on a life of asset of 10 years. There is an investment in year 1 of £100 and an annual increase in investment of 3%. Investment in year 2 is therefore £103 with a capital stock of £203. It is clear that the model here considered is essentially the same as in the earlier paper published on investment and depreciation (1). The figures above the diagonal represent the depreciation allocations derived from the headings in the rows expressed as a percentage of the allocations derived from the headings in the columns. Thus the last figure in the last column of Table 1 means that the sum set aside in year 5 by the sinking fund method is 84.7 per cent of that set aside by the straight line method. The figures below the diagonal are the corresponding rational numbers for the absolute depreciation sums set aside. Thus the next to last cell in column 1 indicates that £43.8 was set aside by the 10 per cent reducing balance allowance and £45.0 by the sinking fund allowance.

(a) *The Straight Line Method*

The method is in common practice in the United States and, while not so in the United Kingdom and the British Caribbean, is recommended by the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales as the most suitable for general application. In the straight line (sometimes known as the fixed instalment) method, equal instalments of the net value of the asset are set aside in each successive accounting period throughout the useful life of the asset. From the accounting point of view and for the individual business the method has some limitation. It is desirable to have a plant register for the computation of capital allowances whichever method of depreciation allocation is employed but in the case of the straight line method a plant register is essential. There can be somewhat violent fluctuations in depreciation allowance set aside by a firm if a large group of assets having reached their expiration period are not replaced at once.

In the fifth year the straight line depreciation allocation is considerably greater than either the 10 per cent reducing balance or sinking fund (18 and 15 per cent respectively). In year 9 the straight line allocation maintains its advantage—particularly in relation to the 10 per cent diminishing balance allocation which is only about 70 per cent of the straight line allocation.

The straight line cumululations (Tables 4 to 6) reflect the higher annual allocations and are substantially higher than either the sinking fund or corresponding diminishing balance cumululations.

(b) *The Diminishing Balance Method*

The principle in the diminishing balance (sometimes called reducing instalment) method is that a smaller value of the asset is written off at the end

of each accounting period. The method has the peculiar and attractive feature that heavier charges are made against revenue in the early years of the life of the asset; this is appropriate if consideration is given to the re-sale values of assets and to the fact that assets lose efficiency with age. The method also has, in its favour, ease of operation, and the consideration is, perhaps, a major one in inducing its adoption by income tax authorities in various countries.

While the diminishing balance method possesses these features it is evident that a relatively higher percentage of the value of the asset must be written off if the depreciation fund is to bear comparison with cumulations built up by the straight line method. Both the United Kingdom and the Caribbean have adopted the method and a simple device has been thought up for increasing the contributions to the depreciation fund—substantial initial allowances. In the United Kingdom the Income Tax Act, 1952 precluded the giving of initial allowances. This was an anti-inflationary measure but the preclusion was short-lived and that section of the Act repealed a year later with provision made for bigger and better allowances. Since 1953 the initial allowances in the United Kingdom range from 10 to 40 per cent of the value of the asset. In addition to initial allowances the 1954-1955 United Kingdom budget introduced the 'investment allowance'. This provided not only for normal depreciation but for a net addition to deductions allowable for income tax^a. Annual allowances for wear and tear are separate from the 'investment' allowance and begin on the original cost of the asset (not on the cost less the investment allowance). The result is that total deductions (investment allowance plus annual depreciation charges) exceed the original value of the asset. This is part of the explanation that the United Kingdom (basing its allowances on the diminishing balance method) has somewhat higher depreciation cumulations relative to gross investment than in the United States (basing its allowances on the straight line method). The policy relating to capital allowances in income tax legislation, is essentially the same in the British Caribbean as in the United Kingdom.

From the point of view of investment it is something of a complication that the diminishing balance method makes allowance for an obsolescence allocation in the last year.^b In the models (Tables 1 to 6) one assumes that in year 10 an obsolescence provision equates the depreciation cumulations, arising from the asset purchased in year 1, with the value of that asset. This influence is shown where the reducing balance curves reflect the injection of the balancing allowance at the expiration of the physical life of the asset and take (in Fig. 1) a sharp upward swing in year 10. The figures in Table 7 show what a major proportion of the depreciation allocations the obsolescence or balancing allowance makes up. When the initial allowance is 10 per cent

^aThe Chancellor of the Exchequer modified these allowances in October, 1955, after this paper was written.

^bThe assumption here is that the traditional diminishing balance method operates with no provision for investment allowance.

the obsolescence allowance has to be 35 per cent of the value of the asset and even when the initial allowance is 40 per cent the obsolescence allowance still amounts to some 23 per cent of the value. The last column shows that the balancing allowance forms about 45 per cent of the other depreciation charges set aside in year 10. The balancing allowances becoming available at the same period of time as replacement must be made, flow into the gross investment stream but have to be considered differently from the other capital allowances, if one tries to evaluate the composition of the net investment stream.

(c) *The Sinking Fund Method*

If the sinking fund method is employed, the normal practice is to invest a constant amount each year (usually in gilt-edged security) such that with compound interest the value of the asset is met in a given number of years. This basis for capital allowances has particular attraction when assets are expected to have a long physical life and when heavy expenditure for replacement at one time is to be anticipated. Thus the public utility type of investment sometimes adopts the method. While conceptually sound the method is, in practice, little used and enquiries, although not detailed, indicate that this system of allocating depreciation funds is rarely applied in the United Kingdom or British Caribbean. A reservation from the point of view of the individual businessman is that gross depreciation accumulations increase progressively, which means that the system is not as conservative as either the straight line or reducing balance method in the early years of the life of the asset. One effect of this may be to discourage the taking of the risk of early replacement of an asset on grounds of technical obsolescence.

The flow of depreciation funds into the investment stream requires special consideration if the economy adopts the sinking fund. If the rate of increase in investment is lower than the interest rate available to the sinking fund made, the total depreciation allowances (derived from the investment in the intervening years) in the year of expiration of life of the asset is equal to the original value of the asset. This means that in an economy in which replacements are being met, the sinking fund method does not provide funds for net investment if the rate of growth is less than or equal to the interest rate of the sinking fund. If, however, the rate of growth is above the interest rate, the sinking fund allocations are of an order to permit some use of funds for new investment. Thus if the investment in year 1 is £100, if the rate of growth is 4 per cent and if the interest rate is 3 per cent, the depreciation allocations in year 10 amount to £101.7 and is £1.7 in excess of replacement requirements.

Comparison of the contributions to the depreciation fund (Tables 1 to 3, and Figs. 1 and 2) show that the sinking fund allowances are in the fifth year higher than the corresponding reducing balance allowance (i.e. reducing balance allowances of 10 per cent initially and 10 per cent of the balances thereafter) but are lower than the reducing balance contributions which have

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either a 20, 30 or 40 per cent initial allowance. By the ninth year, the sinking fund contributions have risen in relation to the reducing balance figure and are higher even when the latter have initial allowances of 20 or 30 per cent. In the tenth year the sinking fund is relegated once more to a relatively lowly level of contribution in comparison with the reducing balance figure which at that stage shows the effect of the balancing allowances. The cumulative capital allowances (Tables 4 to 6) show broadly the same kind of relationships between the sinking fund and reducing balance contributions to the depreciation fund.

It has been indicated above that the sinking fund contributions to depreciation are lower than a comparable straight line figure consistently throughout the life of the asset, in the case of both the annual and the cumulative totals.

CONCLUSION

Under favourable conditions an increase in capital is associated with economic growth. This paper attempts to continue (see Ref. 1) to explore the implications of depreciation policy for investment needs in a growing economy. Implicit in the analysis here is the assumption that higher depreciation allowances made at the expense of distributed profits tend to reduce consumption expenditure and so to encourage investment. This assumption even if accepted has a reservation which should be considered.

The implication of the paper's argument is that capital formation is aided through depreciation cumulations and that funds find their way, through this source, into investment rather than into distributed profits and so into consumption. While this argument holds good normally the relationships can change if a firm keeps two sets of books. The figures in column 1 show the

	Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
	Normal Depreciation	Accelerated Depreciation (figures shown in tax books)	Accelerated Depreciation (figures shown in private books)
Gross profit	100	100	100
Depreciation	20	40	20
Net profit	80	60	80
Tax (say 50% of net profit)	40	30	30
Profit after tax	40	30	50
Dividends	20	15	25
Savings	20	15	25

results that are obtained with gross profit of 100 and depreciation 20. The figures in column 2 show the relationships that result if depreciation is increased to 40 and the figures that would be recorded in the tax books. The effect of the accelerated depreciation (column 2) is to decrease the proportion of dividends distributed, from 20 to 15. If, however, there is a private set of books and the effect of these books is to reflect high windfall resources resulting from the accelerated depreciation, there can result pressures for passing on the benefits to shareholders. If these pressures are not resisted—and it is human not to resist them entirely—one consequence of accelerated depreciation is, in real life, to increase the consumption stream over and above that which is to be expected in the case of normal depreciation allowances; and so to modify the arguments for granting accelerated depreciation allowances. The figures in column 3 reflect what can happen in such a situation: accelerated depreciation (40, column 2), which is actually granted to the firm and which is recorded in its tax books at the true figure, is recorded in the private books (column 3) at a figure that is reasonable in real life (20). The balance of the depreciation allowance (20) is allocated in the private set of books to net profit and in consequence dividends rise to 25 compared with only 20 in normal depreciation (column 1).

Having made allowance for the modified situation—when consumption expenditure may actually increase through accelerated depreciation and the influence of a second set of books—one can proceed to draw conclusions from the normal situation, and this is shown in Table 8. The straight line allowances lead to higher accumulations than the reducing balance allowances even when the latter have a 10 per cent initial allowance; even when the reducing balance method has a 20 per cent initial allowance the straight line allowances catch up by the fifth year.

The straight line allocations are also higher than sinking fund allocations.

There is not much to choose between the sinking fund and the reducing balance (with a 10 per cent initial allowance): the reducing balance is higher in the earlier years but the sinking fund becomes higher at about half the life span of the asset. The reducing balance with a 20 per cent initial allowance is ahead of the sinking fund allocation up to the seventh year.

The conclusion from this analysis is that, from the point of investment policy, there is much to be said for a preference for the straight line method.

In keeping with what was done in a previous paper the general case is here presented with the aid of a series of simple algebraic equations. For these certain symbols and simplifying assumptions are required. Those which are of general application are indicated below. Those of special application will be mentioned when the methods of depreciation to which they apply are being discussed.

A table showing the actual annual depreciation for each of the three methods of depreciation can be arranged in columns and rows. The columns being the annual sum of all depreciation, e.g. the column for year t would show all the depreciation on investments, from year 1 to t , allowable in year t . The rows show what proportion of an investment, in any year, has already been depreciated — this is of special relevance to the diminishing balance method where the 'obsolescence allowance' has to be determined.

Assumptions:

1. Each capital asset has a definite life span, the amortization period is the same for each asset and all assets have the same life span.
2. Assets are retired at the end of the amortization period.
3. Prices remain constant.

Symbols:

I = first year's investment.

m = life span of each capital asset.

t = period (in years) under consideration.

r = actual rate of growth, thus the 2nd year's investment is $I(1+r)$.

Straight Line Method ($t \leq m$)

Investment in year 1 = I

$$\text{Annual Depreciation on investment in year 1} = \frac{I}{m}$$

Investment in year 2 = $I(1+r)$

$$\text{Annual Depreciation on investment in year 2} = \frac{I(1+r)}{m}$$

Investment in year $t = I(1+r)^{t-1}$ (1)

$$\text{Annual Depreciation on investment in year } t = \frac{I(1+r)^{t-1}}{m} \text{ (2)}$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Total Depreciation in year } t &= \frac{I}{m} + \frac{I(1+r)}{m} + \dots + \frac{I(1+r)^{t-1}}{m} \\ &= \frac{I}{m} \left\{ 1 + (1+r) + (1+r)^2 + \dots + (1+r)^{t-1} \right\} \end{aligned}$$

$$= \frac{I}{m} \left\{ \frac{(1+r)^t - 1}{r} \right\} \dots \dots \dots (3)$$

Reducing Balance Method ($t \leq m$)

Let R be the initial allowance on all depreciable new investment

Let x be the annual allowance on all depreciable new investment after the initial allowance has been subtracted.

Initial allowance on 1st year's investment = IR

Annual allowance on 1st year's investment after initial allowance has been subtracted = $I(1-R)x$ i.e. annual allowance in year 2 on 1st year's investment.

Annual allowance in 3rd year on 1st year's investment = $I(1-x)(1-R)x$

Annual allowance in year t on 1st year's investment = $I \{ (1-x)^{t-2} (1-R) \} x$ if $t \geq 2$ (4)

Sum of all depreciation on the t^{th} year's investment after m years

$$= IR + I(1-R)x + I(1-x)(1-R)x + \dots + I(1-x)^{m-2}(1-R)x \dots (5)$$

Investment in year $t = I(1+r)^{t-1}$

If $t \leq m-1$, sum of all depreciation on the t^{th} year's investment at the end

$$\begin{aligned} \text{of the } m^{\text{th}} \text{ year} &= I(1+r)^{t-1} R + I(1+r)^{t-1} (1-R)x \\ &+ I(1+r)^{t-1} (1-R)(1-x)x + \dots + I(1+r)^{t-1} (1-R)(1-x)^{m-t-1}x \\ &= I(1+r)^{t-1} R + I(1+r)^{t-1} (1-R)x [1 + (1-x) \\ &\quad + \dots + (1-x)^{m-t-1}] \\ &= I(1+r)^{t-1} R + I(1+r)^{t-1} (1-R)x \left[\frac{1 - (1-x)^{m-t}}{x} \right] \\ &= I(1+r)^{t-1} - I(1+r)^{t-1} (1-R)(1-x)^{m-t} \dots \dots \dots (6) \end{aligned}$$

\therefore If $t = m$, sum of all depreciation on the t^{th} year's investment at the end of the m^{th} year = $IR(1+r)^{m-1}$

\therefore formula (6) applies for $t \leq m$.

Obsolescence allowance at the end of m years on investment in t years

$$\begin{aligned} &= I(1+r)^{t-1} - \{ I(1+r)^{t-1} - I(1+r)^{t-1} (1-R)(1-x)^{m-t} \} \\ &= I(1+r)^{t-1} (1-R)(1-x)^{m-t} \dots \dots \dots (7) \end{aligned}$$

Depreciation in year t on:

1st year's investment = $I(1-R)(1-x)^{t-2}x$

2nd " " = $I(1+r)(1-R)(1-x)^{t-3}x$

t^{th} year's investment = $I(1+r)^{t-1} R$ if $t \geq 2$ (8)

Sum of depreciation in year t

$$= I(1+r)^{t-1} R + I(1-R)(1-x)^{t-2}x \left[1 + \frac{1+r}{1-x} + \left(\frac{1+r}{1-x} \right)^2 + \dots + \left(\frac{1+r}{1-x} \right)^{t-2} \right]$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= I(1+r)^{t-1} R + I(1-R) (1-x)^{t-2} x \left[\frac{\left(\frac{1+r}{1-x}\right)^{t-1} - 1}{\frac{1+r}{1-x} - 1} \right] \\
 &= I(1+r)^{t-1} R + \frac{I(1-R)x}{r+x} \left[(1+r)^{t-1} - (1-x)^{t-1} \right] \dots\dots\dots (9)
 \end{aligned}$$

Sinking Fund Method ($t \leq m$)

Let a_1 be the sum to be put aside annually to amount to I at the end of m years.

Let z be the rate of interest at which a_1 is invested.

a_1 invested in the 1st year will amount to $a_1(1+z)^m$ at the end of year m .

a_1 invested in the 2nd year will amount to $a_1(1+z)^{m-1}$ at the end of year m .

a_1 invested in the m^{th} year will amount to $a_1(1+z)$ at the end of year m .

Total amount on a_1 invested from year 1 to m at the end of year m .

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= a_1(1+z) + a_1(1+z)^2 + a_1(1+z)^3 + \dots\dots\dots + a_1(1+z)^m \\
 &= a_1(1+z) \{ 1 + (1+z) + (1+z)^2 + \dots\dots\dots + (1+z)^{m-1} \} \\
 &= a_1(1+z) \left\{ \frac{(1+z)^m - 1}{z} \right\} \\
 &= \frac{a_1}{z} \{ (1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z) \} \dots\dots\dots (10)
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\text{but } \frac{a_1}{z} \{ (1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z) \} = I$$

$$\therefore a_1 = \frac{Iz}{(1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z)}$$

Similarly if a_2 is the amount which when invested at z will amount to $I(1+r)$ at the end of m years

$$a_2 = \frac{I(1+r)z}{(1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z)}$$

$$\text{Similarly } a_m = \frac{I(1+r)^{m-1}z}{(1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z)} \dots\dots\dots (11)$$

Total amount of depreciation in year t

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= \frac{Iz}{(1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z)} + \frac{I(1+r)z}{(1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z)} + \dots + \frac{I(1+r)^{t-1}z}{(1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z)} \\
 &= \frac{Iz}{(1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z)} \{ 1 + (1+r) + (1+r)^2 + \dots\dots\dots + (1+r)^{t-1} \} \\
 &= \frac{Iz}{(1+z)^{m+1} - (1+z)} \left\{ \frac{(1+r)^t - 1}{r} \right\} \dots\dots\dots (12)
 \end{aligned}$$

TABLE 1. DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES (NOT CUMULATIVE) IN YEAR 5

		Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:				Sinking Fund Allowance	Straight Line Allowance
		10%	20%	30%	40%		
Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:	10%		85.4	74.1	65.7	97.3	82.5
	20%	43.8 51.3		86.8	76.9	114.0	96.6
	30%	43.8 59.1	51.3 59.1		88.6	131.3	111.3
	40%	43.8 66.7	51.3 66.7	59.1 66.7		148.2	125.6
Sinking Fund Allowance		43.8 45.0	51.3 45.0	59.1 45.0	66.7 45.0		84.7
Straight Line Allowance		43.8 53.1	51.3 53.1	59.1 53.1	66.7 53.1	45.0 53.1	

TABLE 2. DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES (NOT CUMULATIVE) IN YEAR 9

		Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:				Sinking Fund Allowance	Straight Line Allowance
		10%	20%	30%	40%		
Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:	10%		92.0	85.2	79.1	82.1	69.5
	20%	70.6 76.7		92.5	85.9	89.2	75.5
	30%	70.6 82.9	76.7 82.9		92.8	96.4	81.6
	40%	70.6 89.3	76.7 89.3	82.9 89.3		103.8	87.9
Sinking Fund Allowance		70.6 86.0	76.7 86.0	82.9 86.0	89.3 86.0		84.6
Straight Line Allowance		70.6 101.6	76.7 101.6	82.9 101.6	89.3 101.6	86.0 101.6	

TABLE 3. DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES (NOT CUMULATIVE) IN YEAR 10

		Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:				Sinking Fund Allowance	Straight Line Allowance
		10%	20%	30%	40%		
Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:	10%		98.1	96.3	94.6	114.7	96.9
	20%	111.4 113.6		98.2	96.4	117.0	98.8
	30%	111.4 115.7	113.6 115.7		98.2	119.2	100.6
	40%	111.4 117.8	113.6 117.8	115.7 117.8		121.3	102.4
Sinking Fund Allowance		111.4 97.1	113.6 97.1	115.7 97.1	117.8 97.1		84.4
Straight Line Allowance		111.4 115.0	113.6 115.0	115.7 115.0	117.8 115.0	97.1 115.0	

TABLE 4. DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES (CUMULATIVE) IN YEAR 5

		Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:				Sinking Fund Allowance	Straight Line Allowance
		10%	20%	30%	40%		
Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:	10%		75.8	61.0	51.1	103.5	87.8
	20%	137.1 180.8		80.5	67.3	136.6	115.8
	30%	137.1 224.7	180.8 224.7		83.7	169.7	144.0
	40%	137.1 268.5	180.8 268.5	224.7 268.5		202.8	172.0
Sinking Fund Allowance		137.1 132.4	180.8 132.4	224.7 132.4	268.5 132.4		84.8
Straight Line Allowance		137.1 156.1	180.8 156.1	224.7 156.1	268.5 156.1	132.4 156.1	

DEPRECIATION POLICY AND INVESTMENT

TABLE 5. DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES (CUMULATIVE) IN YEAR 9

	Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:				Sinking Fund Allowance	Straight Line Allowance
	10%	20%	30%	40%		
Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:	10%	84.4	73.0	64.2	92.1	78.1
	20%	380.9 451.4	86.5	76.1	109.2	92.5
	30%	380.9 522.0	451.4 522.0	88.0	126.3	107.0
	40%	380.9 592.9	451.4 592.9	522.0 592.9	143.4	121.5
	Sinking Fund Allowance	380.9 413.4	451.4 413.4	522.0 413.4	592.9 413.4	84.7
Straight Line Allowance		380.9 487.9	451.4 487.9	522.0 487.9	592.9 487.9	413.4 487.9

TABLE 6. DEPRECIATION ALLOWANCES (CUMULATIVE) IN YEAR 10

	Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:				Sinking Fund Allowance	Straight Line Allowance
	10%	20%	30%	40%		
Reducing Balance Allowance with initial instalment of:	10%	87.1	77.2	69.3	96.4	81.7
	20%	492.3 565.0	88.6	79.5	110.7	93.7
	30%	492.3 637.7	565.0 637.7	89.7	124.9	105.8
	40%	492.3 710.7	565.0 710.7	637.7 710.7	139.2	117.9
	Sinking Fund Allowance	492.3 510.5	565.0 510.5	637.7 510.5	710.7 510.5	84.7
Straight Line Allowance		492.3 602.9	565.0 602.9	637.7 602.9	710.7 602.9	510.5 602.9

TABLE 7. THE ORDER OF OBSOLESCEENCE ALLOWANCE AS IN THE REDUCING BALANCE METHOD

Reducing Balance Method with initial allowance of:	Value of Obsolescence Allowance in year 10 as a per cent of:	
	Original value of asset	Depreciation (based on total investment in years 1 to 10) in year 10
10%	34.8	45.4
20%	31.1	37.7
40%	23.2	24.5

TABLE 8. DEPRECIATION AS PROPORTION OF GROSS INVESTMENT OF £100 IN YEAR 1 AND GROWTH AT 3%

Year	Reducing Balance Method of 10 annual instalments with an initial allowance of:			20% initial allowance and 10% annual allowance of initial expenditure	Straight Line with 10 annual instalments	Sinking Fund with 10 annual instalments and interest rate of 3%
	10%	20%	30%			
1	10.0	20.0	30.0	20.0	10.0	8.5
2	18.7	27.8	36.8	29.7	19.7	16.7
3	26.4	34.5	42.7	38.2	29.1	24.7
4	32.9	40.5	47.9	45.7	38.2	32.5
5	38.9	45.6	52.5	52.0	47.2	40.0
6	44.0	50.2	56.5	57.8	55.8	47.3
7	48.4	54.2	59.8	62.7	64.2	54.4
8	52.4	57.7	63.0	67.0	72.3	61.2
9	55.7	60.5	65.4	70.8	80.2	67.9
10	58.4	62.7	67.4	74.1	88.1	74.4

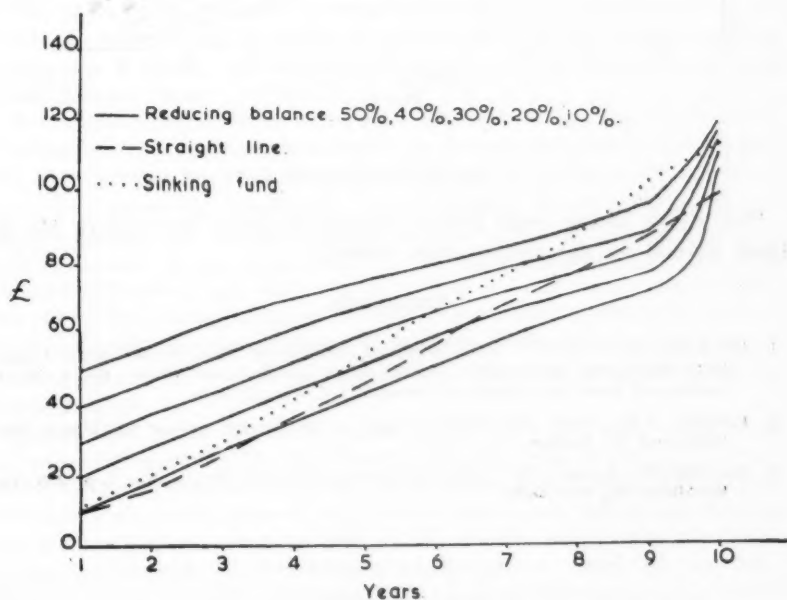


FIG. 1

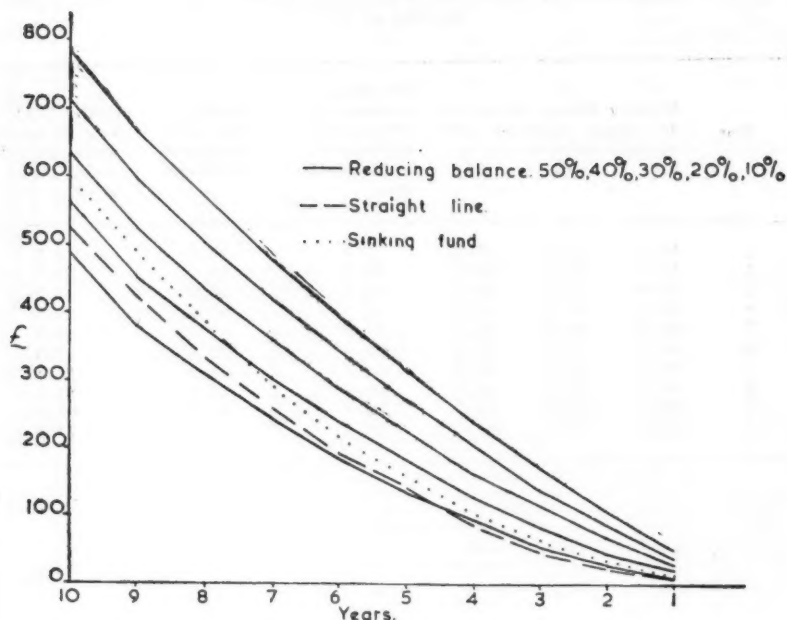


FIG. 2

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Immigration As A Social Process: The Case Of Coloured Colonials in the United Kingdom

By

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Immigration and ethnic group relations were among the first subjects to receive systematic empirical and theoretical study by sociologists. Yet, as the late Professor Louis Wirth remarked, these related fields have lacked "an ordered system of underlying theory which could guide and enhance the value of the many disparate research projects and lead to the building of a cumulative body of tested knowledge" (12). An attempt to remedy this defect has been made by Dr. S. N. Eisenstadt who has formulated certain general propositions with regard to immigration based mainly upon studies of Jewish immigration into Palestine and Israel (6). Eisenstadt puts forward a set of fundamental postulates and a conceptual scheme which he says, "is intended mainly to serve as a basis for a comparative analysis of actual cases." In this article an attempt will be made to examine the case of coloured colonial immigrants in Britain, with particular reference to West Indians, in the light of his general theory.

Eisenstadt's scheme differs from most attempts to analyse the effects of immigration: (a) by its emphasis upon the dynamic elements in the situation and the processes of social change that are set up in the receiving society as well as among the immigrants; (b) by treating the material in terms of group relations and structures rather than in terms of the assimilation of individuals; (c) by the rejection of the traditional indices of acculturation, personal adjustment and dispersion as inadequate and the substitution of a concept of *institutionalization* as a criterion of immigrant absorption. According to this criterion the existence of separate ethnic groups is not incompatible with their complete absorption into the social structure of the receiving society.

Clearly, the impact of an immigrant group upon the social structure of the receiving society will partly depend upon the scale of the immigration. In the case of Jewish immigration into Palestine and Israel the population increased nearly forty times in a little over sixty years and at one time the rate of immigration reached as high as 285 per thousand of the population. In the first five years of the formation of the State of Israel the population doubled, largely through immigration. In contrast, the impact of coloured colonial immigrants upon the social structure of the United Kingdom has not been of such significance because of the relatively small numbers involved.

Before the second world war there were only a few hundred each year. The highest figure recorded since the war is that of 1955 which, when West Indian and other coloured colonials are taken together, did not exceed 20,000. This represents only 0.4 per thousand of the population of the United Kingdom.

In addition to the question of scale, another characteristic of Jewish immigration into Palestine and Israel was the fact that the majority of immigrants arrived in groups rather than as individuals. In many cases whole families travelled together and in the company of other migrants of the same nationality, speaking the same language and with similar occupational experience and qualifications. It is evident that the situation lent itself to analysis in terms of group relations and structures. Although still useful in throwing light on dynamic aspects of the situation the application of this type of analysis to the cause of coloured immigrants in the United Kingdom presents difficulties. In addition to the fact that the scale of the migration has been small the migrants have tended to be single adult males who, even if they have travelled together, usually disperse on arrival in Britain. It is true that in recent months there has been a tendency for more families to travel as units, but this is a new development the consequences of which it is not yet possible to estimate (7).

One of the consequences of the difference in the pattern of migration is that it has not proved possible to make any direct comparison between Eisenstadt's six types of adjustment to the immigration situation, which he defines in terms of families and groups, and the adjustment of West Indians in the United Kingdom, which cannot be described except in terms of individuals. If the group norms were translated into terms applicable to individuals then some comparison could be made, although the very fact that the majority of West Indians are without strong family or group ties means that the psychological strains to which they are exposed tend to be greater.

A further point which emerges from the application of Eisenstadt's scheme of analysis to the case of West Indians and other coloured colonials in Britain is the need to consider separately the main sub-systems within the total social structure of the society. The process of institutionalization must be considered in the context of the political, economic, ecological and kinship systems within the society rather than in relation to the social structure as a whole. It often happens that, for example, there is a satisfactory institutionalization of role-expectations in the economic system, but a complete failure to adapt with regard to relationships in the community.

In the analytical scheme which Eisenstadt proposes it is necessary to consider four 'independent' variables and two 'dependent' variables. The four independent variables are:

- (i) the nature of the initial crisis in the country of origin which gives rise to a feeling of inadequacy and the motivation for migration;
- (ii) the social structure accompanying the migration process;
- (iii) the institutionalization of immigrant behaviour with particular reference to the adoption of new roles and the emergence of leaders;

(iv) the institutionalization of immigrant behaviour from the point of view of the new country.

The two dependent variables are:

(v) the extent to which a pluralistic structure emerges; and

(vi) how far disintegrative behaviour develops on the part of both immigrants and 'old' inhabitants, and the possibilities of institutional disorganization and change.

(i) *Motivation for migration*

Eisenstadt assumes that every migratory movement is motivated by the migrant's feeling of some kind of insecurity or inadequacy in his original social setting, although this insecurity may not apply to every sphere of social life. The migrant leaves one country in the hope of finding better opportunities for achieving optimum satisfaction elsewhere but he remains 'attached' to his original society and culture in various ways. Although there will be a readiness to adapt himself in those spheres where the feeling of inadequacy and frustration are greatest there will be a reluctance to change habits or customs about which no such feelings exist. In the case of West Indian migrants to the United Kingdom the motive, in the large majority of cases, is undoubtedly economic. It is true that, during the second world war, there were some who made their way to Britain under the influence of patriotism or a desire for adventure, and others, at various times, have left their home country in an attempt to escape from family or other responsibilities that were becoming burdensome. But the dominant motive is the belief that, in Britain, it is possible to achieve greater security of employment and a higher standard of living than they could hope to achieve in the West Indies. The fact that Britain is chosen is partly a consequence of diminishing opportunities nearer at hand (in the U.S.A. and Panama) but it is also due to a widespread belief, not altogether unfounded, that there is a shortage of labour in the United Kingdom.

While opportunities for improvement of economic status provide the positive attracting forces in Britain the pressure of a rapidly growing population on limited economic resources provides the negative repelling force that encourages the more ambitious, on the one hand, and the least well adjusted, on the other, to seek their fortune in what many West Indians regard as the 'mother country'.

Once migration has started on a small scale the process tends to become cumulative. Knowledge of the attractive features of the new land is conveyed from relative to relative and from friend to friend. Letters written home by the early migrants when they have succeeded in obtaining remunerative employment encourage others to follow.

(ii) *Social structure accompanying the migration process*

Eisenstadt draws attention to the fact that the process of migration always involves a narrowing of the sphere of social participation, a severing of the

formal and informal ties with the old society before new ties have been established. The number of roles and groups in which the individual is active is reduced and this involves "some degree of 'de-socialization', of shrinkage and transformation of his whole status image and set of values". There is a transitional period in the process of migration in which the migrant lives in a relatively unstructured and incompletely defined situation which gives rise to feelings of insecurity and anxiety. These are sometimes so acute that the migrant genuinely wishes that he had never left home. Despite the feelings of dissatisfaction and inadequacy which have led him to embark upon migration the security derived from participation in familiar social surroundings often seems preferable to the fears engendered by a completely new and strange environment. George Lamming has given admirable expression to these feelings in his novel *The Emigrants*.

West Indian immigrants may experience these feelings less acutely than coloured colonial immigrants whose knowledge of English is limited. A great deal depends upon whether the immigrant is alone or whether he is with family or friends who can help and support one another. More and more coloured immigrants are arriving in Britain with an address of a friend or relative to whom they can go and who will usually assist the new arrival in the process of settling down and 'getting to know the ropes', i.e. in learning the elementary norms of the new culture.

Some attempt has been made in the United Kingdom to facilitate the initial reception of coloured colonial immigrants and assist them to adjust to the first impact of the new society. Since the war there has been no scheme comparable with that which was organized in 1941, by the Ministry of Labour and the Colonial Office, in which men were selected in the West Indies and brought to Britain under official auspices for training and placement as technicians in industry (8). In the case of the 345 men involved in that scheme elaborate arrangements were made for their reception and their welfare while in Britain, until the scheme was wound up in 1946. However, it is customary now for Colonial Office and Ministry of Labour officials to meet boats on which a number of West Indian immigrants are expected to arrive. The immigrants are interviewed and, where it is required, given some assistance to reach their intended destination if they have one. Where they have no definite plans they are advised where the best opportunities for employment are to be found and told where they can find temporary accommodation. Since the Area Offices of the Colonial Office Welfare Department and a number of hostels were closed down there has not been the same opportunity for welfare assistance and advice, once the transitional period is over. A recent investigation on behalf of the Jamaican government has recommended the setting up of a much expanded Welfare Office in Britain (10).

The case of those who stow away in order to come to Britain is a rather special one. The number of coloured colonial immigrants who stowed away has tended to diminish but in 1953 there were 122, two-thirds of them West

Indians. Their reception is not so straightforward, particularly if the shipping company decides to prosecute, in which case the immigrant may spend his first month in Britain inside prison. After release he may receive some assistance from the Colonial Office or a voluntary welfare organization. In the case of all immigrants who are without any other resources the National Assistance Board will provide a subsistence allowance in accordance with the basic premises of the 'welfare state' which will not allow anyone to starve or go without a roof over his head, however recently arrived in Britain.

(iii) *Institutionalization of immigrant behaviour with particular reference to role-expectations and leadership*

Once the physical process of migration has taken place the process of re-socialization and absorption begins. From the point of view of the immigrant this involves the institutionalization of his role-expectations. By this is meant the establishment of satisfactory social relationships with other immigrants and with the indigenous population as a result of which the immigrant's expectations become compatible with the roles defined in the new society and capable of realization in it. This may involve learning new skills, discovering new norms and standards and internalizing or accepting the appropriate cultural and sub-cultural values of his new society.

The migrant develops certain definite expectations regarding his future role in the new society which may or may not correspond with the reality situation. In the case of West Indians proceeding to Britain these expectations are influenced by what is learned about Britain in school, from contact with English people who lived in or visited the colonies and West Indians who have visited Britain, together with a variety of impressions gained from missionaries' stories, government propaganda and travel agency advertisements. In many cases the consequent mental picture of life in Britain is a highly idealized one, making subsequent re-adjustment all the more difficult. This is true not only of the specific economic opportunities offered in the new environment but in connection with the individual immigrant's expectations regarding the attitudes of the indigenous population and the extent to which *universalistic* rather than *particularistic* considerations will govern the relationships between them and the immigrant group. The West Indian immigrant expects to be able to take part in the political, economic, ecological (community) and kinship systems of his new society according to certain universal criteria which apply to the relationships of the indigenous population. The latter, in contrast, expect to apply particularistic standards derived from their perception of the immigrant as a stranger and *as a coloured person*, to whom the universalistic standards are not meant to apply.

As well as ensuring his admission to Britain the status of the West Indian immigrant as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies carries with it certain political rights and obligations. In so far as only a very small proportion of the indigenous white population takes an active part in party political activities, it is not surprising to find very few of the immigrants becoming

officials or active members of the Conservative, Liberal, Labour or Communist parties. Local government elections arouse comparatively little enthusiasm among the population at large. It is only at the time of a general election that there is widespread interest. There is no reliable evidence to show the extent to which West Indian or other coloured immigrants actually take part in central government elections compared with the rest of the population. However, the author's impression gained from observations and interviews at the time of a general election is that the immigrants frequently adopt a 'plague on both your houses' attitude, complaining that neither of the two main parties, Conservative or Labour, has the interests of the colonies or of colonial immigrants really at heart. Among the more radical-minded there is a tendency to avow support of the Communist party without any actual participation in party activities. Both the apathetic and the radical expression of opinion are evidence of a lack of identification with the cultural norms and an alienation from the indigenous population.

It is notable that this alienation has rarely expressed itself in the formation of an organization specifically intended to further the political interest of coloured immigrants in general or West Indians in particular. At certain critical periods, such as at the time of the disturbances in Liverpool (1948) an organization may come into being for a short period. Such organizations frequently succumb to conflict within the membership for positions of leadership, culminating in allegations of corruption and the misappropriation of funds. It appears that any organization which attempts to weld together the diverse interests of the various national groups within the coloured population is likely to disintegrate unless the sense of external threat is great enough to overcome the lack of common sentiments among people from as far afield as the West Indies, Africa and Asia. In the case of specifically West Indian organizations, status-competition between individuals is often so acute as to prevent effective leadership from emerging.

The extent to which the individual West Indian is prepared to adapt his role-expectations and status-aspirations in the economic system varies a great deal. The need to obtain employment is imperative. It is true that the National Assistance Board assists a man or woman who fails to obtain employment, but powers exist to prosecute a person who persistently refuses to accept suitable offers of employment, for which offence a period of imprisonment may be imposed. This, and the low rate of National Assistance benefits, means that the immigrant is under strong pressure to accept whatever employment is available, even though it may not correspond with his assessment of his own ability, experience or qualifications. Even skilled tradesmen who have undertaken an apprenticeship in the West Indies may find that by United Kingdom standards, where specialization is frequent, his skill is not up to the required standards. The more adaptable a man is the less likely it is that there will be any conflict between his aspirations and what is demanded of him. Nevertheless, employers sometimes complain of men who have been

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trained by them for a certain job, which having mastered, the immigrant then leaves in favour of a higher paid post elsewhere.

The very fact that there is full employment in Britain means that the large majority of vacancies tend to be in the poorer paid, hardest and most unpleasant types of occupation carrying the lowest social status, or in fields demanding specialized knowledge. When the West Indian immigrant is compelled to do work of the former kind it is not surprising that there is resentment. Ambitious immigrants may move from one job to another very quickly in the hopes of finding something which is more in accordance with their aspirations, leading to a somewhat rapid turnover among coloured workers. More, perhaps, than other immigrants, the West Indian is sensitive about his status and reluctant to undertake work of a labouring character or that which is excessively dirty.

The principal expectation of the West Indian immigrant with regard to the economic system is that in Britain he will be able to earn high wages. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the 'rate-buster mentality' and a readiness to undertake over-time duties, sometimes to the extent of working long hours to the detriment of health and efficiency. (The latter characteristic may also be explained in terms of the relative lack of home or leisure-time interests and occupations.)

Where membership of a trade union is a condition of employment the immigrant necessarily pays his dues, but like the majority of the indigenous population it is not often that he takes any active part in trade union activities. Exceptions are to be found among some of the war-time immigrants who occasionally held office in local branches, but few have continued to do so since the end of the war. Those who did fulfilled important leadership roles and played a significant part in promoting the assimilation and adjustment of the immigrants in the economic setting. The evidence suggests that the adjustment of a man to his work is closely connected with the nature of his relationships with others outside of working hours, i.e. in the ecological and kinship systems (community and family groups).

One of the first problems which faces the immigrant on arrival in Britain is that of finding somewhere to live. In the last resort, if nowhere can be found, it may be necessary for the immigrant to be provided with "Part Three" accommodation in accordance with the provisions of the National Assistance Act; alternatively he may find a bed in a common lodging house or in a hostel provided by a voluntary body such as the Salvation Army. These are all last extremities and the majority of immigrants endeavour to find a room or rooms which is often shared with several other individuals or families and for which a comparatively high rent is paid. The housing problem is a universal one in Britain today and by no means limited to coloured colonial immigrants. It is in the nature of the case that recently arrived immigrants find themselves in the least favoured position. They have no priority on local authority housing lists which are based on length of residence and size of

family. Few immigrants can afford to purchase a house even with the aid of a mortgage at any rate for the first year or two of their stay in Britain. The tendency, therefore, is for the immigrants to drift to the poorer districts of a town which are in process of being vacated by the original inhabitants in favour of better accommodation elsewhere. This tendency is aggravated by the prejudice against coloured persons, about which more will be said later, and by the natural tendency of the newly arrived immigrant to gravitate to an area already inhabited by a number of his fellow countrymen. In this way there is a definite tendency for certain localities to take on the characteristics of a 'coloured quarter' although the degree of isolation and segregation from the rest of the population varies a good deal from place to place. It is probably greatest in the dockland settlements of Cardiff and East London. The former is almost physically cut off from the rest of the city. It is probably least evident in some of the more recent settlements in the midlands and the south of England, although small aggregations of coloured people in certain streets also inhabited by white people are usual.

A few coloured colonials who have been resident in Britain for some time have purchased property which they have let to other coloured immigrants and sometimes also white tenants. Not all coloured landlords have been able to resist the temptation to 'get rich quick' by this means. Nevertheless, although by United Kingdom standards overcrowding is frequent the majority of coloured landlords appear to charge fair rents and to keep the property in a reasonable state of repair. An unusual but interesting development is the formation, in Leeds, of the 'Aggrey Society' with its off-shoot 'Aggrey Housing Ltd.' This has a management committee of white and coloured persons and purchases property which it lets. Where there is more than one flat in a house both coloured and white tenants are found. The prime object of the scheme is to prevent the segregation of coloured people in the community.

West Indian immigrants in Britain find it necessary to make certain adjustments in order to conform to the manifest pattern of relationships with regard to kinship, marriage and sexual relationships. In the case of single males these are not markedly different from those which are common to migrating males all over the world, but they are aggravated by the fact that there is an endogamic tendency in Britain with regard to sexual or marital relations with a person of another social class, religion, nationality or race. Even prostitutes, especially those with a 'middle class' clientele, are apt to discriminate against a coloured man. As a consequence a single man, if he is coloured, may have difficulty in finding a sexual partner, even for a temporary liaison, unless that partner is of a lower social status. In the case of the poorer working class coloured man this may mean consorting with a girl of low mentality or poor health who cannot obtain a white man (1). In the more established coloured communities of Liverpool, Cardiff and elsewhere there is another alternative, *viz.* establishing relationships with the coloured girls born in the United Kingdom, although in that case there will be competition

from some white men and coloured American servicemen who are often financially better prospects.

The West Indian who brings his family to Britain faces a different set of problems. Housing is more difficult, as it is for any married person, especially with children. Colour adds another difficulty in the eyes of many landladies. Once a home is found it is often necessary for the mother to obtain employment and for children if not at school to be found a place in a day-nursery. Although nurseries run by the local authority rarely discriminate against coloured children (they are more often accused of discriminating in favour of them) parents of other children attending the nursery or school may object to their children associating with coloured children.

Summing up the position with regard to the institutionalization of the immigrant's role-expectations it can be asserted with confidence that the majority of immigrants arrive with unrealistic expectations with regard to their future role and status and that the adjustments that they have to make are considerable. In most cases these adjustments involve the lowering of status aspirations and the improvement of economic qualifications and efficiency.

As far as the emergence of leaders who assist the adjustment of later arrivals is concerned it is remarkable that the number of West Indians assuming such a role is very small. The majority of the better adjusted immigrants aspire to achieve a maximum degree of assimilation into the white community. This involves a social separation from recent immigrants and those of lower status. In this way there is a draining off of potential leaders, which appears to have been in complete contrast with Eisenstadt's experience in Israel, where established leaders played an important part in facilitating the absorption of newcomers. There is a sense in which the West Indians in Britain are completely leaderless.

Owing to the diverse nature of the coloured population as a whole it would be equally true to say that there are no generally accepted leaders of the coloured population as a whole, at any rate since the death of Dr. Harold Moody who founded the League of Coloured Peoples. There are, however, some men who exert a considerable influence over others of their own nationality or religion in particular localities. The West Africans, for example, are not 'leaderless' in the way that the West Indians are, and in some places have formed societies on 'tribal' lines with a fairly stable leadership (1).

(iv) *Institutionalization of immigrant behaviour from the point of view of new country*

It has already been suggested that the attitude of the majority of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom towards the coloured immigrants is *particularistic* rather than *universalistic*. In other words the white inhabitants of Britain tend to judge the newcomer in terms of his status as an 'immigrant' and a 'coloured person', rather than in terms of his status as, for example, a

citizen, a tradesman, a neighbour or a father. Unpublished investigations carried out by the Social Survey suggest that two-thirds of the population of the United Kingdom is liable to express some antipathy towards coloured people in certain circumstances and that half these express a fairly marked colour prejudice. Despite the fact that, from time to time, Britain has absorbed a considerable number of Europeans and other immigrants there is still a resentment of the 'stranger' when he can be identified as such. The attitude which is expressed towards coloured immigrants is very similar in character to that which has sometimes been expressed towards Jewish, Catholic, Irish, Polish and Italian and other minorities and cannot, therefore, be entirely explained in terms of colour prejudice.

Assuming the West Indian has the necessary evidence, in the form of a passport and other indisputable evidence of identity, his status (as a Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies and therefore a British subject) is accepted and there is no barrier to his admission to the country. This does not mean to say that the right of the coloured colonial immigrant to admission is not disputed. On the contrary, the popular press has from time to time expressed indignation and concern at the absence of any restriction, particularly in view of the fact that there is no reciprocal automatic right of admission accorded to inhabitants of the United Kingdom wishing to migrate to the colonies. However, although some official recognition has been given to this concern it seems unlikely that there will be any immediate alteration, either in the Citizenship or the rights of admission of British colonial subjects.

Once he has set foot in the United Kingdom the treatment of the immigrant by all official bodies is strictly in accordance with universalistic criteria; although minor officials may occasionally be prejudiced, administrative procedures as such do not discriminate against the coloured immigrant. As far as employment is concerned the Ministry of Labour does its best to place the immigrants according to the qualifications of the men, the vacancies occurring and the willingness of employers to accept coloured employees. However, the Ministry of Labour Staff Association in its own publication *Civil Service Argus* suggests that only about half the vacancies existing in February, 1955 would have been available for coloured immigrants, after taking into account such factors as skill, location, type of work and the attitudes of employers and trade unions. Unlike the war-time period, there is now no machinery by which any compulsion can be put upon an employer who refuses to employ a person who has been sent him by the Ministry, no matter what the grounds of refusal. As far as trade unions are concerned official policy to date has been, in most cases, against any kind of discrimination. However, from time to time local branches and individual rank and file members have expressed objections to the employment of coloured workers. The reasons offered are usually: (a) a larger labour force will decrease the bargaining power of the Union and reduce current opportunities for earning over-time; (b) newcomers into the industry now may become a threat in the future if full employment is not maintained.

Reference has already been made to the question of prejudice in the community. Apart from actual prejudice against them because of their colour, if colonial immigrants arrive in a district in considerable numbers in a comparatively short period of time it is almost inevitable, through the operation of supply and demand, that they will be over-charged when they attempt to rent or to purchase property. Add to this the ignorance of the new arrivals regarding the complicated provisions of rent restrictions Acts and the operation of leasehold systems, and the situation is ripe for the kind of exploitation which appears to be characteristic in certain neighbourhoods in London and elsewhere.

It is with regard to the relationships between coloured men and white women that public opinion in Britain is most sensitive. Even people who are in other respects very tolerant tend to disapprove of mixed marriages and there is a widespread stereotype which assumes that there is some sexual promiscuity among coloured persons. There is no factual foundation for this belief although the fact that marriages validated by church or other ceremony are a mark of higher economic status in Jamaica rather than the universal norm, is sometimes a cause of misunderstanding. If a white girl plucks up courage to face the social ostracism which she is liable to incur if she associates with a coloured man, there may still be the fear at the back of her mind that the coloured man in question may have contracted a legal or common-law marriage at home, of which she is unaware. The risk is there in the case of any person, white or coloured, if the man has migrated from another country or another part of Britain. But it is usually felt that the risk is rather greater in the case of West Indian immigrants. Whether genuine or not feelings such as this often provide a means of rationalizing colour prejudice.

From the point of view of the community as a whole attitudes towards colonial immigrants in general and West Indians in particular, are distinctly ambivalent. At the official level and at the level of informed and enlightened public opinion there is the recognition that the immigrants are fulfilling a valuable need in meeting, to a limited extent, the present man-power shortage. At the same time there is a certain uneasiness regarding the consequence of this migration as far as future social and economic developments are concerned. The drain of experienced workers from the West Indies is not in the best interests of that economy and, if the migrants have a difficult time in Britain, this may have its repercussions in the long run on colonial relations. Immigration aggravates the existing housing shortage and may be a source of labour problems if an economic recession were to occur. At the level of the man in the street attitudes are also ambivalent, but for different reasons. A combination of ignorance and emotional ethnocentrism has bred a certain fear of and contempt for the 'foreigner', among whom coloured colonial immigrants are placed, despite their British citizenship. With a few enlightened exceptions newspapers play up to these prejudices although often the means adopted is one of 'negative pre-occupation'. Just as some news-

papers enable their readers to indulge in fantasies of an obscene and violent nature by adopting an attitude of moral indignation at these very things, so they play on the fears and insecurities of the average person, while apparently investigating social evils such as prejudice and discrimination against coloured people.

(v) *The emergence of a pluralistic structure*

In certain respects the case of coloured immigrants may appear to present special features which distinguish it from other types of immigrant absorption. Genetically determined racial differences, such as skin colour, increase the 'visibility' of the immigrant, thereby aggravating certain of the obstacles to assimilation. Even when there are no racial differences the assimilation of immigrants rarely takes place in one generation, if, indeed, it takes place at all. When conditions are favourable for assimilation and motivation of the immigrants towards absorption is high, it usually requires at least two generations before an immigrant group becomes indistinguishable from the indigenous population. When the 'visible' factors which differentiate the immigrants are wholly cultural the assimilation of the immigrant group can take place whether or not there is biological amalgamation between them and the original inhabitants. When racial factors are added to cultural ones, as distinguishing features, complete assimilation is unlikely to be achieved unless there is also biological amalgamation to such an extent that the differentiating genes, such as those determining skin colour, are extremely widely spread. In so far as there is nearly always some resistance to intermarriage with immigrants the assimilation of a racially distinct immigrant group is likely to be delayed, even though there may have been successful adoption of the cultural characteristics of the indigenous population. A case in point is that of coloured persons born in the United Kingdom, one or both of whose parents are of West Indian origin. The absence of any language difficulties and the general similarity in educational background make it relatively easy for such a child, growing up in Britain, completely to absorb the cultural characteristics of his peers. Only the pigmentation of his or her skin remains to indicate the fact of descent from a coloured immigrant. Nevertheless, such people are not readily accepted by the community at large and suffer many of the deprivations and experience the same prejudicial attitudes that are accorded to the first generation of coloured immigrants (4).

However, from the socio-psychological point of view, the obstacles in the way of the complete absorption of coloured immigrants and their descendants are not fundamentally different from those which face any immigrant group. Absorption is always a two-way process although the degree and extent of the re-adjustment which has to be made, by the new-comers and the receiving society respectively, may vary in each case. Basically, the problem is one of ascertaining how far the aspirations and intentions (role-expectations) of the immigrants are capable of realization given the actual conditions of absorption in the receiving society. Sprott endorses this view and suggests

that, "the attitudes of the receiving population, the aspirations of the newcomers and the opportunities offered by the social structure are relevant in all cases of immigration; the case of coloured people is special only because the attitude of the receiving population is so often hostile" (11).

Eisenstadt emphasizes that *assimilation*, that is, the complete acculturation and total dispersion of an immigrant group, is a limiting case rarely found in practice, unless the immigration is on a very small scale. He argues that, "out of the absorption of a large-scale immigration there usually develops a 'pluralistic' structure or net-work of sub-structures, i.e., a society composed to some extent of different sub-systems allocated to different immigrant ('ethnic') groups — groups maintaining some degree of separate identity." In his view the mere existence of separate and distinct immigrant communities within a society is not of itself a sign of lack of adaptation: "It is not the mere existence of such an ethnic community but the extent to which its structure is balanced in relation to the total social structure that is a negative index of adaptation." The criteria of a 'balanced' ethnic group in this connection are that the internal status structure of the immigrant group is not opposed to that of the absorbing society, that the status premises of the ethnic group are accepted as legitimate within the society and the immigrants accept the status position allocated to them. Although, in the case of West Indians in the United Kingdom, the first of these criteria is fulfilled, the second and third are not. The status aspirations and role-expectations of the West Indian immigrants are not always accepted as legitimate by the indigenous population and the immigrants are not always prepared to accept the roles allocated to them and the inferior status that these roles often imply. In this sense, therefore, the West Indian immigrants in Britain are not a 'balanced' ethnic group and, according to Eisenstadt's definition, not properly integrated into the absorbing society.

The Chinese community on Merseyside (2) and the Moslem communities on Tyneside (3) provide good examples of the reverse situation. Whereas the majority of West Indian immigrants endeavour, as far as the white population allow, to become completely assimilated into their new society, the majority of Chinese and Moslem immigrants are not motivated in this direction. They are prepared to make the necessary adjustments in order to participate effectively in the economic system but other relationships with the rest of society are reduced to a minimum. They tend to live together in the same neighbourhood, to congregate in the same cafes and to take part in their own religious activities. The only other area in which they find it necessary to make a major re-adjustment is marriage. The Moslems, for example, become monogamous and allow their English wives a good deal more freedom than would be granted a Moslem wife under ordinary circumstances. Nevertheless, they expect their children to be brought up in their faith and many of the wives become converts to Islam. This form of adaptation to the demands of the social structure of the United Kingdom is apparently acceptable to the in-

digenous population in so far as the relative isolation of these groups minimizes occasions for contact and therefore reduces the possibilities of overt conflict. The Moslem and Chinese communities in Britain appear to fulfil Eisenstadt's requirements for a 'balanced' ethnic group which has made a successful adaptation to the immigrant situation. Corporately, they have become absorbed into the social structure of the new society, although individual members have not become completely acculturated and there has been no assimilation in that sense. The situation is likely to remain stable unless the aspirations of the Moslem or Chinese groups (or those of their children) change. At present, the role-expectations and status aspirations of these immigrants are compatible with the conditions of absorption in the receiving society. Those of the West Indians are not.

(vi) *Disintegrative behaviour, institutional disorganization and social change*

In the light of the above analysis it is evident that the absorption of the coloured colonial immigrants is a dynamic process involving changes in the immigrant group and in the social structure of the receiving society as well. Like all processes of social change the situation has both integrative and disintegrative possibilities. The inevitable conflict engendered by the process of immigrant absorption may be resolved in such a way that the receiving society achieves a re-integration or equilibrium at a new level of social organization; or the conflict may be perpetuated with consequent mal-integration of the social system.

Eisenstadt suggests that it is impossible for any large-scale immigration to have so little effect on the absorbing country as to make no change at all in its institutional structure and that in most cases a type of 'pluralistic' structure will emerge. He does not define what he means by a 'large scale', but in the case of coloured colonials in the United Kingdom it would appear that smallness of scale alone has not prevented the emergence of a 'pluralistic structure' and that it is the colour visibility factor which is responsible. In the case of the Chinese and Moslem groups a fairly stable equilibrium appears to have been achieved but the position of the West Indian immigrants in the social structure is not clearly defined. The present situation is, therefore, inherently unstable.

One of two things must happen before the West Indian immigrants could be absorbed into the social structure of the United Kingdom. Either (1) the West Indian immigrants would have to modify their role-expectations and status-aspirations in such a way that they, like the Chinese and Moslems, were prepared of their own volition to retain some of the characteristics of a separate ethnic group. In this case they would form a 'balanced' ethnic group within a pluralistic structure, in Eisenstadt's terminology; or, (2) there would have to be some modification of the institutional structure of the United Kingdom, together with an appropriate adjustment of the attitudes and values of the white population, which would facilitate the complete as-

similation of the West Indian immigrants in accordance with their present aspirations.

It is impossible at this stage to make any reliable prediction as to which of these two alternatives will apply, or whether there will continue to be a long period of conflict and maladjustment in the course of which the immigrant group will neither be absorbed as separate communities nor assimilated as individuals. At the present time there is evidence that this underlying conflict exists. Those who feel genuinely concerned for the welfare of the immigrants are divided between those who feel that every endeavour should be made to encourage assimilation and those who feel that special facilities should be provided for the welfare and recreation of the coloured immigrants and that assimilation should be discouraged. There is no consistent view on this subject and some attempts to provide, for example, community centre and club facilities have failed dismally because the management committee cannot agree on a policy with regard to this very point.

From the West Indian point of view the inconsistency of policy which characterizes almost every aspect of the relations between the indigenous population and the immigrants is a source of considerable confusion and resentment. Some West Indians argue that if a clear-cut 'colour-bar' were imposed at least the immigrants would "know where they stood" and could act accordingly. But considerable insecurity and anxiety is generated when prejudice and discrimination may be experienced without warning in the most unexpected places. The cumulative effects of this insecurity of status are undoubtedly detrimental to personality adjustment and, as the present writer has shown elsewhere, may result in aggressive reactions which are sometimes directed into anti-social channels (8, 9).

Eisenstadt suggests that the main possibilities of disintegrative behaviour in the immigrant group are: 1) personal disorganization, by which he appears to mean neurotic and psychotic breakdown; 2) aggression and incorrigibility in relation to social norms, including hostility towards other social groups, criminal and semi-criminal behaviour; 3) inadequate identification and solidarity with the absorbing structure including apathetic and rebellious attitudes or over-emphasis of certain symbolically significant forms of behaviour, e.g. conspicuous consumption. Examples of all these types of behaviour can be found among those West Indian immigrants who have failed to make an adequate adjustment to a situation in which their original expectations and status-aspirations have been frustrated.

It is interesting to observe that, in contrast with the West Indian and other Negro groups in Liverpool, the Chinese community is not normally regarded as constituting a 'social problem', despite the fact that gambling and opium smoking persist. The individual Chinese appears to make a fairly successful adjustment to his situation and Broady remarks, "it is precisely because he has neither assimilated nor deliberately sought to accommodate to an English culture pattern that the Chinese is not subject to culture conflict" (2).

Much the same could be said of the Moslem community on Tyneside to which reference has been made; although a limited accommodation has taken place it has not created the kind of conflict to which West Indians are exposed.

In a recent article, St. Clair Drake has drawn attention to the different ways in which Negro-white relationships have been defined as a 'social problem' from the point of view of the white community in Britain (5). Since the first world war the problem has presented itself to the white population in a variety of forms. At first it was seen in terms of a threat to white seamen in British ships; then as a threat to moral standards; later the welfare of coloured children became the main concern of reformers and social workers, mainly because of an alleged moral and health threat; during the war the question of separate facilities for coloured people's recreation arose; after the second world war the problem was expressed in terms of stowaways, and more recently the threat to the standard of living of English workers, now or in the future, as a result of Jamaican immigration has been the source of concern in some quarters. Thus the wheel appears to have turned full circle, and the economic aspect is again to the forefront. Although, from the beginning, there have been those among the white community who have urged the claims of the coloured population in terms of social justice, throughout the period since the first world war the presence in Britain of a coloured population has been interpreted by many people as constituting in some way a 'threat' to the status and security of the indigenous white population.

The behaviour of the white population towards the coloured colonial immigrants has contributed to the disintegrative process. Deviance has not been limited to the immigrants but is evident in the behaviour of the members of the receiving society in so far as prejudice, discrimination, exploitation and the like are not in accord with the manifest ideals of the democratic Christian/humanist tradition to which lip service is paid. Just as Myrdal observed the 'American dilemma' which arose from the incompatibility between the way in which American Negroes were treated in practice and the ideals of the American constitution, so, in the United Kingdom, there is a very real dilemma arising from the discrepancy between the ideals of a democratic colonial policy and the actual treatment of coloured colonials in the United Kingdom and in the colonies themselves.

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Some Notes on Savings in an African Economy

By

OKWARA O. AMOGU

The purpose of this article is to illustrate the danger of carrying over to an African economy ideas about economic institutions which have been formed in developed economies like Britain and the U.S.A. A useful starting point is a paragraph in Mr. P. T. Bauer's recent book on West African trade, a book which reveals considerable knowledge of the subject. Yet Mr. Bauer writes: "Some financial data also illustrate the low level of capital. Deposits in the Nigerian Post Office Savings Bank increased fifteenfold between 1934 and 1951, but still totalled only about £3 m. The total currency in circulation in Nigeria in March, 1951, was about £40 m., and this included money held for business transactions and for current expenditure on consumption, as well as savings accumulated over a period. The total volume of bank deposits outstanding was about £18 m., and these were largely business and government deposits" (1, p. 14).

I shall try to show that:

- (1) Deposits at the Post Office Savings Banks (or at any bank at all) provide no true index to either the volume of capital or to savings in Nigeria.
- (2) There are certain important reasons why people do not generally use banks, apart from the familiar notion that the country is just 'emerging' into a money economy.
- (3) Certain native institutions have been doing what the banks could not do. These institutions deserve the attention of economists, since it might be useful if they were encouraged, improved and adapted to the ever-growing complexities of modern business and finance; while the banks themselves might well experiment with new methods in an environment so different from England.

The Colonial Office report on Nigeria, 1951, showed that the Post Office Savings Bank (which is organized on the same lines as that in England) conducted business only at 138 post offices, and served only 168,954 depositors (2).^a The report also pointed out that this represented a slight fall in the number of depositors, as compared with the previous year, but a considerably higher average deposit in each account. The Nigeria Handbook (4) showed that the following banks were licensed on September 1, 1952:

^aThe most recent report I could get on Nigeria is the report for 1952. It states that the Post Office Savings Banks conducted business in 143 Post Offices and 22 Postal Agencies, as compared with 138 Post Offices in 1951. The number of depositors increased to 177,012 by March 31, 1952 (3).

(i) Bank of British West Africa, with branches in 16 towns; (ii) Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas), with branches in 10 towns; (iii) The National Bank of Nigeria, with branches in 14 towns; (iv) British and French Bank (for Commerce and Industry), in Lagos only; (v) Merchants Bank, in Lagos only.

Of these five banks only the National Bank is 'indigenous', i.e. owned and operated by Nigerians; but although it is third on the list, it has only about £1 m. capital. There were about 20 other 'indigenous' banks, mostly small mushroom growths, though some (e.g. the African Continental Bank) seem now to have grown to mature life. Thus the BBWA and Barclays Bank dominate the Nigerian banking business, and their policy has therefore been of considerable importance to the depositor.

The 1951 report shows that only an insignificant fraction of the population of nearly 34 million uses the Post Office Savings Bank, which is probably the most popular with wage and salary earners. Such people use the banks mainly for the safety they provide for 'rainy day' savings, rather than for current accounts. But to the majority of the population safety, though very important, is in fact not the primary aim. For many people forgo consumption today because they expect that, by the productive use of their small savings, they will get a higher income tomorrow. Furthermore, banks are few and scattered among the towns, whereas the majority of the peasant farmers (some of whom may have spare savings) live in rural areas, often remote from any bank. The cost and trouble of transporting money is not compensated by the low bank yields on deposits and the high charges on current accounts. For this reason alone it is more convenient and cheaper for most savers to keep their money with them, even in the form of idle hoards, rather than take them to a bank.

Lack of education has been another factor which has made it difficult for most people in Nigeria to use banks. Many people may be ignorant of the true functions of banks, especially if they happen to live far away from one; they may not even know that such an institution exists. But even if he understands the use of banks, the peasant farmer may find the formalities of banking too difficult to follow. If he is illiterate, he will avoid anything which involves filling in forms; and he will not want to rely on others to interpret to him writings which concern his money.

But a further discouragement to the use of the banking system is the high short-term yields obtainable on money invested elsewhere. This by-passing of the banking system is partly due to social habits and customs, and partly to the growth of special institutions appropriate to an economy where money is very scarce. The scarcity of money and the high demand for it is shown by Mr. Bauer's example of 'gold-coasting', in which a trader obtains goods on credit from importers and sells them very quickly, even at a loss, in order that he may have possession of liquid cash which he can lend at a very high short-term rate of interest. The imperfect specialization in economic

activities makes it possible for almost anybody to engage in this lucrative business, provided they have business ability, can obtain the confidence of importers, and are not limited (as civil servants are) by the nature of their regular work.

Apart from 'gold-coasting', the general activities of moneylenders show the high demand for money. Moneylenders employ private borrowings from other people in their business, and are able to attract these loans because they offer a rate much higher than the banks. Nevertheless, they are able to charge their customers so much for loans that there remains a substantial margin of profit.

In addition to these private money-lending activities, certain social institutions, e.g. the "Isusu", attract the savings of the population much more easily than the banks. The Isusu are a kind of thrift society very popular among the lower income groups. Members contribute at regular intervals part of their earnings to a common pool, from which they may borrow in times of need. Usually, however, the right to borrow rotates, and anybody not wishing to make use of the loan to which he is entitled may re-lend the money at a determined rate of interest to some other person. The member borrower usually pays no interest to the Isusu; many of these bodies, especially among clerical assistants and labourers, are simply 'clubs' to provide for expected future expenditures. But where the Isusu does charge interest, it serves as an inducement to employ the borrowed money productively so as to meet the interest charge. This the borrower can do either by himself engaging in some petty trade, or by lending the money to someone willing to pay interest in return. The period of loan is usually one month, at the end of which full repayment of the principal and of any interest due is expected. A member may withdraw from the Isusu at any time on giving sufficient notice.

There are certain kinds of Isusu which seem to function mainly among adolescents. Money is contributed to the pool for six months or a year, after which each member simply receives back what he has contributed, and a new pool is started (members not wishing to continue their membership being given a chance to withdraw). The purpose of these Isusu is merely to relieve boys who have just left school of the temptations of frequent expenditure, and to encourage the habit of saving.

There are also 'progressive' unions and 'family' unions formed mainly for the purpose of community development. These receive regular contributions from members each month, as well as contributions to special fund-raising schemes for education, maternity and child welfare, road building, etc. The film "Daybreak in Udi" shows how some of these funds are employed. In Eastern Nigeria community development projects have, for various reasons, been more important than the planned development programmes of the Central Government. But apart from the attractions of local community development, other considerations attract small savers into these unions. Some have provided welfare services to members away from their own homes, either

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by lending or granting money directly, or by providing accommodation (and even, for the very poor, board as well). Large income earners, mainly traders, are also attracted as contributors to the progressive unions because there is a scheme by which members are allowed short-term loans from the common fund at some high rate of interest (such as 20 per cent or even more). In a country where short-term transactions bring in high returns such loans are attractive to traders, who may make several times the sum borrowed in the period (usually three months) of the loan. The size of loans may vary from 5/- to £10 according to the nature and strength of the union. There is often provision for re-borrowing, provided that other members are not waiting their turn for the money and the security remains sufficient. One man may be found to belong to five or more such unions.

The fixed monthly contribution is usually between 6d and 2/-, but is normally 1/-. But the additional special fund-raising schemes may make large calls on the income of the people; for instance, 10/- a year for the education, rate, 5/- for maternity, 3/- for roads. These sums must be compared with a national income per head which, according to Dr. Prest's estimates, was in 1951 about £22 per year. The importance of progressive unions may partly explain why yields from government taxation have been so low in Eastern Nigeria, and why the standard of general education is considered to be higher here than in any other part of West Africa (6).^a The contributions to the unions are only morally obligatory, but nearly every working adult takes part. These unions, of course, may deposit extra cash with the Post Office Savings Bank when one is near. But the 1952 Report called attention to the fact that withdrawals in 1952 exceeded deposits, and suggested the reduction in the rate of interest payable on deposits in excess of £2,000, which became effective in June 22, 1952, as the likely cause (3).

There are thus strong institutional reasons why ordinary western-style banking is not attractive to the majority of the inhabitants. The Colonial Office report for 1951 stated that between 1941 and 1951 the demand for currency rose by almost 650 per cent, "an astonishing increase", and that although observers believed that in 1950 currency circulation was nearing its peak, it increased further to "unprecedented levels" in 1951 (2, p. 28). This last increase was of course due to the boom in primary commodities associated with the Korean war, and it may be significant that it was accompanied by a small fall in the number of depositors at the Post Office Savings Banks. This is consistent with a belief that depositors were employing their money for investment in other channels, e.g. produce buying, which yielded quicker and larger returns.

But why are the banks so lethargic in creating credit facilities, if people are so willing to offer high interest payments? The answer to this must mainly relate to the expatriate banks; the indigenous banks are small, and hardly

^aIn an editorial article, "Another Million Dollar Baby" it is stated: "Educational standards in Eastern Nigeria at present are probably the best in West Africa".

likely to plunge into experiment on their own account. They tend to adopt the same line of policy as the big expatriate banks.

The expatriate banks work under certain difficulties. Most of these difficulties have hindered the development of foreign business enterprise in the country in the past, and their psychological effect tends even today to hinder the entry of capital from private sources overseas. Firstly, large English joint stock companies have their full share of the caution characteristic of many large business corporations. In an overseas environment, where social and political conditions are so different from those in the home country, this caution tends to be increased. The majority of bank managers of the expatriate banks are Europeans. Naturally they know only imperfectly the social institutions under which they work. They can seldom be expected to have that wide knowledge of influential local business men which is so important to successful banking. They may of course meet a few of the educated business men at some social function in the towns, but these would only be a small minority. As for the rest, illiteracy and inability to speak English would render them socially inaccessible, especially where a European manager cannot speak or understand any of the Nigerian languages. There would thus be a difficulty in understanding exactly why a loan should be wanted. There may also be a supposition that the illiterate business man would have a smaller chance of success in a given undertaking than an educated counterpart of equal natural ability. He might therefore be less favourably considered and expected to offer a greater security for loans. Land, which often served as a security, has now been recognized to be governed by such complicated systems of tenure that claims attached to it may be difficult to prove. Added to these local difficulties is the fact that the banks' policy makers are in London, and therefore have even less opportunity of local insight. Even where a good deal of lending power is left to the local representative, he may feel it easier to justify his position in London if he adopts a safe and cautious path.

Even in the United Kingdom there is a banking tradition or myth that loans are made for short-term and self-liquidating purposes, and that the banks cannot support long-term investment because of the risk to their future liquidity. This tradition gains in reality and authority in another country, where uncertainties are necessarily greater. There is, for instance, the uncertainty about the future political system and about future government attitudes to expatriate firms. The fact that the banks find it easier to lend to other expatriate firms (Syrians, Lebanese and Europeans) than to African business men obviously increases the insecurity of their position.

Thus the convenience and habits of savers, and the customs of banks, join in making it unlikely that any substantial part of local saving should use the banks. If we want to understand saving and the availability of capital in Nigeria, we must look at the local moneylenders, the Isusu, and the progressive and family unions.

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But are the savings which flow through these channels 'productively' employed? I will first examine the charge that savings are simply added to hoards or spent on conspicuous and unnecessary consumer goods. It may have been true that when barter was the prevalent form of trade, and money consisted of bulky metal rods or cowrie shells, there was some convenience in turning one's earnings into clothes, precious ornaments and jewels, or in simply burying them in the ground or concealing them in the fireplace. (One supposed reason for concealment was the fear of relatives who might descend to consume one's wealth; but the older forms of money were not easily concealed). But although hoarding, with modern minted coins, is easier, there are reasons why it is not prevalent, and why, similarly, the buying of trinkets and beads should be considered an exceptional employment of wealth rather than the rule.

Mr. Bauer's view that "the small supply *often* runs to waste or remains unproductive because it is hoarded in the form of currency, or is accumulated in the form of low-grade gold trinkets or textiles" seems to me an exaggeration. But then none would be so irrational as to borrow money from banks only to hoard it, as Mr. Bauer seems to infer on p. 184 of his book (1).

Apart from the morally obligatory contributions to the unions, one reason against hoarding is the fact that high returns can be obtained by those who employ their money productively, provided they judge well the ability and honesty of borrowers. We should not imagine such business opportunities as belonging to the rich; even among the very poor, a shilling is not too little to start a trade, and Mr. Bauer gives examples of individuals who started business with only a few pence but who now have turnovers worth thousands of pounds.

There are certain influences which strengthen the tendency to invest rather than to hoard. In Nigeria, as in other countries, there is a great deal of social prestige accorded to those who own wealth, and the concern for social recognition is usually strong enough to dissuade people from hiding their money in useless hoards, so that nobody knows about it. Apart from social aggrandisement, there are many who genuinely concern themselves with the improvement of the material welfare of their countrymen. Individuals have been known to give cheques for thousands of pounds to help to establish a communal hospital or a post office.^a

Again, the founding of such businesses as the African Continental Bank and the West African Trading Company seems to have been influenced by political motives. Having often been told that Nigeria was not ready for self-government because it was economically weak, it has seemed worth while not merely to deny the logic of the argument, but to nullify it by creating great business enterprises under African control. Another case is the founding

^ae.g. Mr. L. P. Ojukwu, described by *West Africa* as "an enormously successful business man and director of some big British, as well as Nigerian, companies". He accompanied Dr. Azikiwe, Premier of E. Nigeria, on his Economic Mission to Europe and the United States in 1954 (5).

of the Nigerian Engineering Company at Enugu to exploit local raw materials for the production of iron and steel goods.

During the second world war, the scarcity of manufactured goods from Europe and America tended to strengthen native industries and encourage improvisation. The native shoe-making, cloth and other weaving industries tended to revive. Empty kerosene and petrol tins could be worked into trunks and suitcases with a greater assurance that there would be a demand for them. But with such petty industry there grew the realization that the country could not achieve national power or independence without industrial strength; and some of the problems of obtaining this were considered in, for instance, Dr. Azikiwe's "Political Blue Print" and "Economic Reconstruction of Nigeria". But these may not have had much impact beyond his own party supporters and admirers, and enthusiasm seemed to weaken when cheap and machine-manufactured goods began once more to enter Nigeria after the war. New commodities became popular; for instance, the Post Office started a radio rental system in the towns and thus made it possible for many middle class people to own their own set. American luxury cars became the favourite of the rich. Japan's re-entry into the cheap textile market, and the boom in raw materials in the years after the war, both tended to slow down the rate of development of local industry.

There have been other adverse influences. There are some who fear the destruction of cherished culture and institutions, or the sacrifice of economic to obtain political freedom. Since the chief fighters for economic development have been found on the left wing, the whole concept tends to be opposed by those who fear revolutionary change—old established rulers (as in the Northern region), or perhaps civil servants brought up in a more gradual tradition.

It is therefore not a true picture to imagine a country teeming with opportunities for 'business' development, which are frustrated by the propensity to hoard savings. There is a very real willingness to employ savings productively, but sociological and political factors tend to channel the savings into uses which are less obviously (though not less truly) 'productive'. For instance, a great deal of saving is employed on constructing the educational system. For lack of education, the country neither produces effective innovators nor enough technicians able to employ the innovations of other countries; it thus lacks the very basis of industrial development, and money employed on developing education will in the long run yield high returns. In the same way, community plans for improving roads or controlling disease may be laying the foundations for future prosperity. It is indeed widely recognized that one of the difficulties of 'underdeveloped' countries is that the tasks which should have first priority are the community investments which are unattractive to foreign capitalists. It has been the purpose of this article to show, firstly that there are flows of saving in Nigeria which might be unrecognized by economists in developed countries; and secondly that

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these savings are tending to support community investment which is of the first importance to the future prosperity of the country.

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RESEARCH NOTE

THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN JAMAICA AND TRINIDAD

This study is being carried out under the supervision of the Department of Economic History of the University of Edinburgh, which awarded me a Post-graduate Research Studentship last year. In November last, the Colonial Social Science Research Council made available a Historical and Administrative Research Grant to enable me to visit the two islands concerned in order to collect material. Practical considerations have caused the original intention of investigating the entire British Caribbean to be limited to the more manageable proportions of the present study; but there is some prospect of including the mainland territory of British Guiana at a later date.

The aim of the study is to examine the labour movement in Jamaica and Trinidad, as part of a larger West Indian movement, in the context of its historical background. During the past twenty years, labour has become a factor of prime importance in the British Caribbean. Its two major organizational forms, the political labour parties and the trade unions, are now accepted as responsible institutions, whose advice is respected and whose agreement is sought before decisions affecting the territories are taken. With the acceleration of progress towards self-government, it is inevitable that labour's role will continue to increase in importance; indeed, recent trends seem to indicate the probability that ultimately it will acquire complete control — a situation which adult franchise, depressed social and economic conditions, and a governmental system which until recently gave the upper-middle and middle classes only a minor role as advisors to an imported bureaucracy, will have brought about. This is a far cry from the situation in which the members of the new wage-earning class, which was brought into being by emancipation, found themselves.

In an attempt to trace this process of transition, Part I of the study begins in 1834 and examines the conditions under which the labourers had to live and their place in the scheme of things in both islands right down to the beginning of the modern labour movement. Particular attention will be paid to early attempts at organization, to expressions of discontent, verbal or violent, to the leadership provided by churches and other associations, and to other factors such as Indian immigration which may have helped to create a feeling of solidarity among the negro element. The role of the immigrant will also be examined.

The second half of the study will deal with the modern labour movement, manifesting itself in sporadic strikes and prolonged agitation for more liberal political constitutions and greater representation, and, after the unrest of the

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30's, in the increased awareness of the need for organization on both the industrial and the political fronts. Various special problems, such as the role of the leadership, the problem of inter-union rivalry and such like, will be considered. Jamaica and Trinidad have been chosen deliberately as fields for this study because of the contrasts they provide throughout the period.

Francis X. Mark.

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The National Income and National Accounts of Barbados

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Note: \$B.W.I. (4.80 = £1) are used in this study.

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The National Income and National Accounts of Barbados

By

R. L. BONNETT

INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century has witnessed a tremendous shift in the emphasis of government activity. It is now the generally accepted philosophy that it is the over-riding responsibility of government to control the direction and tempo of economic activity in the interest of the whole community. Government therefore needs new tools with which to perform its new role. The chief instrument employed is the Budget which is an expression of its economic policy. By manipulating the taxation and expenditure contained in the Budget government can influence the main trends occurring in the national economy.

The use of the Budget as an instrument of policy cannot be carried out successfully by groping in the dark. It requires new tools of economic analysis and new sets of statistical information which will enable the persons responsible for the management of the Budget to obtain a panoramic view of the whole economy whereby the economic situation can be analysed, the significant current trends detected and the implications of alternative policy decisions assessed. Very rapid analyses of the economic situation can be undertaken with the aid of national income estimates and accounts. These are instruments for measuring the size and structure of any economy.

It would be a delusion to argue that national income estimates and accounts provide the answers to all questions of public policy. They present a picture of what is happening in the economy over a period of time which might be useful as a guide to policy. It is no exaggeration to say that it would be impossible to pursue a high level of discussion of fiscal policy, or frame effective economic policy, without reference to quantitative information of a reliable nature such as is provided by national income estimates and accounts. The use of these statistics as tools of policy is now part and parcel of Budget administration in all advanced countries. In some it is even written into the law, as in the United States where the provisions of the Employment Act require the use of national income estimates in the formulation of employment policy. Their use in the United Kingdom was originally linked with analyses of the capacity of the economy to carry on war: Gregory

King's pioneer estimates of 1696 (3) were designed to show that England could safely afford to carry on war with Spain; the official estimates now prepared annually started as an analysis of the sources of war finance which would give some indication to government of how much of the national resources could be diverted from normal peace-time purposes to pay for carrying on the second world war. At other times and in other countries the use of these estimates has been for peace-time purposes—for national economic development or for dealing with the problem of unemployment. In Holland central economic planning has been subjected to the discipline of national accounting from the very beginning of such planning.

The use of national accounting technique has been extended to under-developed territories mainly as a kind of spring-board of development planning. By revealing the size and composite structure of these economies it enables the policy-makers to get a measurable idea of total available resources and development potential which may shed some light on the feasibility of alternative policy measures.

Recent experience has shown that the effort to inject large quantities of capital into an 'underdeveloped' economy can be misdirected if based on inadequate information, and appalling wastage of resources could result. The value of using economic statistics as a guide to development policy consists in the light they throw on what are the likely consequences of different measures or different emphases of policy. Budget debates in Barbados have long referred to the importance of having a quantitative guide to the sum total of national resources in order that taxation policy might be framed in relation to the capacity of the economy. As early as 1943 the House of Assembly addressed the Governor requesting him to appoint expert economists to undertake a statistical analysis of certain sectors of the economy with a view to "more equitable distribution of taxation". Following the address Dr. (now Professor) F. C. Benham, then Economic Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies, was requested to prepare an estimate of the national income of the island for 1942. However, the war overshadowed everything else, and it was not until the post-war period that another attempt to analyse the capacity of the economy was undertaken — this time with a view to obtaining some indication of the level of taxation which it could bear. Professor Beasley's *Fiscal Survey of Barbados*, completed in 1952 (1) was used as a guide to the taxation policy outlined in the Five Year Plan of Development and Taxation introduced the same year.

The present study of the national income is designed to provide the statistical background of the economic situation in the recent past, during a period when the island experienced the fortunes of a poor crop year and also the benefits of the largest crop in its history. It will not provide a panacea for the problems which confront the island. It is intended rather to be a statistical

illustration of the structure of this small agricultural economy which is largely dependent on external markets for the sale of a single commodity, sugar, and the purchase of nearly all its foodstuffs, clothing, raw materials and capital equipment. It will provide clues to the answers of certain questions on trading potential and taxable capacity which both the business world and government will use as guides in framing policy. If quantitative answers could be given to a number of these questions it would be possible to eliminate much waste of resources resulting from misdirected policies based on trial and error. These are some of the questions to which answers are needed:

- (a) Is the national income rising as fast as the price level?
- (b) Is real income increasing in pace with population growth?
- (c) How substantial is the contribution of income from abroad to the national income?
- (d) How important is tourism to the economy of Barbados?
- (e) Is the purchasing power of the population rising?
- (f) How does a rise in the standard of living affect the balance of payments?
- (g) Are savings increasing?
- (h) What is the trend of investment?
- (i) What is the taxable capacity of the economy?
- (j) How heavy is the burden of taxation?

All these are questions which affect policy decisions, and if correct answers could be provided, it would be possible to assess the implications of different lines of policy.

DEFINITION OF THE NATIONAL INCOME

The national income is a measure of the goods and services which become available for use by the nation during the course of a year. This flow of goods and services can be measured in three different ways:

- (1) as the flow of goods and services produced;
- (2) as the flow of incomes to those who produced these goods and services;
- (3) as the flow of expenditures on these goods and services.

These flows are not separate from each other but are inter-related. The flow of incomes consists of the remuneration of persons for work done, and of interest, profits and rents. These are, in effect, the compensation of the factors of production—land, labour, capital and enterprise—for their participation in economic activity. The flow of goods and services is the end of this economic activity. The value of the total product is equal to the cost of the factors of production embodied in it. The third flow, expenditures, is the sum of the purchases of the flow of goods and services for consumption

and capital development. Ignoring foreign trade at this stage, the income flow would be generated by the product flow, and the expenditures correspond to the sum of purchases of goods and services. The three flows would therefore be equal to each other.

Taking foreign trade into account, the picture of the economy is slightly more complicated and the relationship between the different flows not so easy to unravel. Complications arise from the fact that the people of a nation do not buy only the goods and services produced within their country. A nation exports part of its own production of goods and services to pay for the goods and services which it buys from other countries. These are offset against each other and any balance represents lending or borrowing between the countries, as is shown in the national expenditure table. The flow of incomes also includes earnings by foreign factors of production employed in domestic economic activity, and earnings of domestic factors of production for their contribution to economic activity abroad. These two sets of earnings are offset against each other leaving what is called the "net factor income from the rest of the world". This is conventionally taken as the measure of output abroad which the nation has contributed. In the end we still have the three-sided equation: national income = national product = national expenditure.

PROBLEMS OF MEASUREMENT

The practical problems of measurement are greater than the conceptual. Nowhere is all the statistical material for compiling the national income available. In countries with developed statistical services the gaps in information are relatively few, and it is possible to assess the limitations of what firm figures are available. In Barbados at the time this study was undertaken the statistics available were full of gaps which added to the difficulties of calculation. However, there were statistics for the main components of the three different flows: (i) production of sugar, molasses and rum; (ii) incomes in the sugar industry and government employment, together with taxation statistics on higher incomes and profits; (iii) statistics of imports of consumer and capital goods. It was possible to cover the gaps by using census data and information collected in special investigations, e.g. K. H. Straw's "Survey of Income and Consumption in Barbados" (4) and Halcrow and Cave's *Survey of Peasant Agriculture in Barbados* (2), together with statistics prepared specially for administrative purposes.

There are no complete records of information on subsistence output, manufactures (other than sugar, molasses and rum), tourist expenditure or output of services.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present study originated in a request from Mr. E. S. S. Burrowes, Financial Secretary, for a statistical illustration of the main trends which occurred in the economy during the recent past. The Chief Secretary kindly allowed a period of six weeks free of other duties for the purpose of collecting and analysing the data and writing the report. In the early stages of the study, the author was fortunate enough to obtain advice from Dr. A. R. Prest of the Department of Applied Economics, University of Cambridge, during his visit to Barbados in connection with his Survey of Public Finances and Taxation; from Professor J. H. Richardson, Professor of Industrial Relations in the University of Leeds, and from Mr. W. F. Searle, Chief Statistician, Colonial Office. Their appraisal of the preliminary results was the main source of encouragement for the author to carry the project to completion. In the later stages further criticisms and advice were received from Professor C. G. Beasley, Economic Adviser to the Comptroller for Development and Welfare in the West Indies and from Mr. F. E. Richmond, Statistician, Colonial Office. The final report owes much to Mr. D. G. Seers, United Nations Statistical Adviser to the Government of Barbados for his criticisms and suggestions on the draft paper. The author wishes to convey his sincere gratitude to everyone who kindly spared time to assist him in bringing the study to this stage.

Though the persons named above were helpful in their criticisms and suggestions, and the work was done with government facilities, neither they nor the government are responsible for the views expressed in this report, or the conclusions reached.

PART I.

THE NATIONAL PRODUCT

In this section an attempt is made to measure the total value of the output of goods and services which became available for consumption and adding to wealth during the five-year period 1949 to 1953. Out of this emerges an analysis of the national product by industrial origin. Theoretically, the national product consists of the aggregate output of goods and services within the geographical confines of the island *minus* provision for the replacement of capital equipment used in the productive process, or which has become obsolete through technical change, *plus* net factor incomes from abroad which are the return to Barbadian labour and capital for their contribution to economic activity outside the island.

The framework of this analysis is outlined in Table 1.

TABLE 1. ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL PRODUCT BY ITEMS, 1949-53

1. Sugar and molasses.	9. Contributions to domestic capital formation.
2. Subsidiary agriculture and fisheries.	10. Deductions.
3. Manufactures.	11. Gross domestic product.
4. Public utilities.	12. Provision for capital consumption.
5. Distribution of imports.	13. Net factor incomes from abroad.
6. Government services.	14. Net national product.
7. Other services.	
8. Rents.	

DETAILED ANALYSIS

Item 1: Sugar and molasses

The economy of Barbados is predominantly agricultural. Sugar cane is by far the most important product of the island's agriculture; the remainder consists mainly of food crops and livestock for local consumption. The evaluation of agricultural output could not be attempted directly because of gaps in the information. The output of sugar cane at the secondary stage, i.e. "cane sugar and molasses", is recorded, but complete statistics of other agricultural production are not available for any year besides 1946. The total output of sugar cane on the farm is a raw material of the sugar factories. Total sugar output can be measured as the output of the sugar factories, i.e. cane sugar and molasses.

The physical volume of cane sugar and molasses production is set out in Table 2 below. Sugar and molasses are equated at the rate of 330 wine gallons per ton during this period.

TABLE 2. SUGAR AND MOLASSES PRODUCTION, 1949-53
(Tons)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Sugar	135,859	142,982	164,566	156,741	151,012
Molasses	16,872	15,201	23,077	11,134	9,740
Total	152,731	158,183	187,643	167,875	160,752

Source: Department of Agriculture.

The valuation of this output may be made in two ways which would give identical values if all the detailed figures were known exactly.

The first method relates to measurement through the channels of disposal:

- (1) exports during the year;
- (2) local consumption;
- (3) addition to stocks awaiting export and local consumption.

Channel (1) is available in the Customs Report; channel (2) is estimated on the basis of Straw's "Budgets and Nutrition in Barbados, 1953"; channel (3) can be measured from data in the annual reports of the Department of Science and Agriculture. The resultant picture is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3. VALUE OF SUGAR AND MOLASSES PRODUCTION, 1949-53*
(Average export prices, f.o.b.)

	Method I				\$ 000
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Sugar and molasses exports	18,990	23,732	29,838	33,208	31,999
Local consumption	997	1,243	1,379	1,654	1,833
Net addition to stocks	-230	-1,885	-450	-4,005	-2,399
Total	19,757	23,090	30,767	30,857	31,433

*Table 3 shows net additions to stocks to be negative. The explanation is that exports of molasses during this period have been higher than current production, the excess being drawn from heavy stocks accumulated in earlier years. An indication of this stock-piling is given in Appendix I of the Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into all aspects of the Fancy Molasses Industry in Barbados which indicates that during the period 1940-50 stocks amounting to 2.5 million gallons of molasses were accumulated.

The second method measures the value of total output at market prices. In this case average export values were used. (The price of sugar consumed locally is controlled. A subsidy is paid to cover the difference between controlled price and export price.)

TABLE 4. VALUE OF SUGAR AND MOLASSES PRODUCTION, 1949-53
(Average export prices, f.o.b.)

	Method II				\$ 000
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Sugar	16,846	20,016	25,016	28,213	29,286
Molasses	2,950	2,909	5,711	2,246	2,192
Total	19,796	22,925	30,727	30,459	31,478

The evaluation presented in Table 4 is based on firmer statistics than those

used in Table 3 and is therefore adopted as the value of sugar and molasses production. However, despite the weaknesses in the data used in the first method the total result comes quite close to that of the second method.

Receipts from the sale of Barbados Sugar Preference Certificates form part of the value of sugar exports, but are not included in the Customs figures. In Table 19 they are treated as part of the value of sugar production. Their value is shown in Table 5 below. There were no receipts from the Canadian Benefit Pool during the years 1949 to 1953.

TABLE 5. VALUE OF SUGAR PREFERENCE CERTIFICATES, 1949-53.

Year	Value	
	£	\$
1949	105,315	505,512
1950	105,315	505,512
1951	105,315	505,512
1952	134,775	646,920
1953	145,677	699,249

Item 2: Subsidiary agriculture and fisheries

Information on this item is weak. Statutory returns are made by the plantations to the Department of Agriculture in respect of certain crops grown under the Local Food Production Regulations. The crops covered are yams, sweet potatoes, and eddoes. Peasant holdings, i.e. farms less than 10 acres in size, make no returns. No other subsidiary agricultural output is quantified, except for the information produced by the Census of Agriculture, 1946.

Halcrow and Cave's survey of *Peasant Agriculture in Barbados 1947*, provides a useful picture of this sector of the economy. Since the Census no major change has taken place in peasant agriculture, though it is generally believed that the higher prices obtaining for sugar have shifted cultivation more towards sugar cane. Otherwise, this sector of the economy was probably stagnant. The Department of Agriculture provided estimates of the volume of subsistence output shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6. VOLUME OF CERTAIN FARM OUTPUT, 1949-53.

	Tons				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Yams	19,000	19,200	18,240	13,000	17,700
Sweet potatoes	21,400	17,700	17,500	16,300	18,000
Eddoes	3,150	2,280	2,130	2,000	2,000
Cassava		2,950	2,890	2,800	2,700
Corn on cob	820	1,180	1,150	1,300	1,200

By using other data which became available during this study, including Straw's "Survey of Income and Consumption in Barbados", and his "Budgets and Nutrition in Barbados" an attempt was made to estimate the value of subsistence production.

Cotton
Yams
Sweet
Eddoes
Cassava
Corn
Garden
Milk
Poultry
Eggs
Beef
Pork
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TABLE 7. VALUE OF SUBSIDIARY AGRICULTURAL OUTPUT, 1949-53.

	\$ '000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Cotton	58	36	18	14	23
Yams	1,276	1,290	1,225	874	1,586
Sweet potatoes	958	793	784	730	1,209
Eddoes	211	153	143	134	179
Cassava	39	39	38	37	36
Corn	125	132	129	145	134
Garden vegetables	400	400	500	600	600
Milk	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
Poultry	96	100	100	110	120
Eggs	720	720	720	720	720
Beef	709	850	850	1,002	1,134
Pork	320	320	320	320	320
Mutton	50	55	60	65	70
Fruits	1,100	1,100	1,100	1,100	1,100
Total	7,562	7,488	7,487	7,451	8,731

There are no facilities for recording the total, or even a major portion, of fisheries production.^a The catch is landed at various points scattered along the coast and cannot be quantified. Estimates based on the total fishing fleet and average catch per boat were provided by the Fisheries Officer. The valuation of the catch is an even more difficult problem because of the wide fluctuations in supply and demand, and the various systems of measurement adopted. Demand tends to be greatest on Friday evenings and Saturdays after most workers have received wages and it tends to slacken off progressively down to Thursday. It also tends to be great during crop when employment is high and incomes are flourishing. Peak periods of supply do not always coincide with periods of high demand. Another difficulty is that fish is sold in Barbados by either weight, number or bunch. Table 8 presents estimates of value and volumes of production for the years 1949 to 1953.

TABLE 8. FISHERIES PRODUCTION, 1949-53

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Volume, lbs. '000	(Estimates not available)		6,359	9,211	14,893
Value, \$ '000	900	900	953	1,382	2,234

Item 3: Manufactures (other than sugar)

Little published information is available on this item. However, by using data derived from taxation statistics together with Straw's budget survey and trade statistics it was possible to fit together the rough estimates of gross manufacturing output shown in Table 9 below.

^aOne of the economic problems of the fishing industry is imperfect marketing arrangements. Adequate facilities do not at present exist for storage of excess supply in periods of glut or for distribution to inland markets.

TABLE 9. GROSS OUTPUT OF MANUFACTURES, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Food	3,000	3,000	3,235	4,000	6,250
Drink and tobacco	3,700	3,700	4,700	4,900	5,300
Clothing	4,550	4,609	6,429	5,647	4,954
Other	500	500	500	600	700
Total	11,750	11,809	14,864	15,147	17,204

Note: Figures include imported raw materials, duty, profit-margins and distribution costs on them.

Item 4: Public utilities

The information in Table 10 is based on taxation statistics and includes the Waterworks Department, which is a Government Department, but is classified here with other public utilities.

TABLE 10. OUTPUT OF PUBLIC UTILITIES, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Total	1,890	2,070	2,175	2,325	2,360

Item 5: Distribution of imports

The prices of several imported commodities were controlled throughout the period 1949 to 1953, but during 1953 there was a tendency towards relaxation of controls. Information on "mark-ups" is available in the Defence Regulations. By applying these percentages of profits margins to the relevant import statistics it was possible to arrive at an estimate of the cost of distribution for the period 1949 to 1953. The cost of distributing local produce is already included in its valuation.

TABLE 11. COST OF DISTRIBUTION OF IMPORTS, 1949-53.

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Food, drink and tobacco	1,965	2,452	2,893	3,601	3,361
Raw materials and articles unmanufactured	1,143	1,334	1,712	1,573	1,422
Manufactured articles	7,799	8,348	11,814	11,534	8,635
Total	10,907	12,134	16,419	16,708	13,418

Item 6: Government service

The output of government service is the value of services rendered to the community by central and local government authorities. Government output is measured 'gross' here, deductions for purchases from other sectors of the economy being made under item 11.^a Current 'transfer payments' such as

^aThis is not generally done but it was decided to treat all deductions for double counting under item 11.

pensions, poor relief and subsidies which do not involve the rendering of a service in exchange are excluded. A deduction must also be made here for the Waterworks Department which is already treated under item 4 — Public utilities. Government accounts are kept on the basis of a financial year which runs from April to March, and it was necessary to adjust these to calendar periods to which this study refers. Government gross output is shown in Table 12 below.

TABLE 12. GOVERNMENT OUTPUT, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Total government output	8,456	7,800	8,700	9,453	10,750

Item 7: Other services

The services which are treated here include mainly Personal, Recreational, Professional and Financial. At the time of the Census approximately 21 per cent of the working population was engaged in one or other of the services here mentioned. Domestic service (included under "Personal service") accounted for about 15.5 per cent, a proportion which is roughly twice the average for the British Caribbean. Since the economy is not expanding fast enough to create sufficient new jobs for the rapidly growing population, there has been a tendency towards overcrowding in the "service industries" with the consequent depression of wages.

Some professional workers are employed by government and their output is already included in Item 6. The output of professional service here includes professional workers on own account. There is no up-to-date information on the number of persons employed in "personal" service; the latest figures relate to 1946. Some adjustment of the Census figures (5) was therefore necessary. The output of Recreational, Professional and Financial Services is based on taxation returns for 1949, and the subsequent years follow the treatment outlined in Part II.

The analysis for 1949 to 1953 is presented in Table 13 below.

TABLE 13. OUTPUT OF PERSONAL, RECREATIONAL, PROFESSIONAL AND FINANCIAL SERVICES AND OTHER SERVICES, 1949-53.

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Personal	3,800	3,900	4,000	4,100	4,200
Recreational	1,712	1,790	2,000	2,000	2,000
Professional	1,512	1,716	1,763	1,800	1,800
Financial	1,230	1,356	1,390	1,440	1,440
Other	500	600	700	700	700
Total	8,754	9,362	9,853	10,040	10,140

Item 8: Rental value of houses

For the purpose of national accounting, rent includes actual rents paid and the imputed rental value of owner-occupied houses. The latest information on the total number of houses is contained in the Census Report, where the number in 1946 was stated to be 45,485. There are no statistics available about the number of new houses constructed annually. Parochial assessments for purposes of house-tax do not cover the whole field. Information collected for the compilation of the Register of Elections, 1951 seems to indicate an average annual increase of some 350 households. A new household does not necessarily mean a new house, and the annual increase of houses is probably less than 350. The Census figures were adjusted in the light of these tenuous estimates and the valuation in Table 14, which compares closely with Miss Siffleet's for 1949, was calculated. These valuations are 'gross', no deductions having been made here for depreciation or rates.

TABLE 14. RENTAL VALUE OF HOUSES, 1949-53.

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Total rent	3,900	4,000	4,100	4,200	4,300

\$ 000

Item 9: Contributions to domestic capital formation

There are no complete records of building and construction in Barbados. All machinery and equipment and a very high proportion of building materials are imported. That part of Barbadian output which can be regarded as production of capital goods is limited to the production of local materials for use in erection of buildings and construction of roads and so on, and labour employed in the distribution and installation of imported capital goods and local materials.

TABLE 15. VALUE OF DOMESTIC CAPITAL PRODUCTION, 1949-53.

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Distribution of imports of capital goods	1,620	1,870	2,396	2,271	1,925
Installation	1,513	1,848	2,572	2,004	1,842
Local materials	850	850	1,050	1,150	1,050
Total	3,983	4,568	6,018	5,425	4,817

\$ 000

Item 10. Deductions

The process of production in Barbados involves the use of considerable amounts of imported raw materials, e.g. animal foods, manures, containers, fuel, tallow and copra. The value of these is already included in the gross output given in the foregoing tables, and, in order to obtain a true picture of domestic production free of double-counting, they must be deducted.

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Government and business purchases from each other, and agricultural output used on the farm for feeding animals and planting, must also be deducted to avoid counting items twice over. Excise duty which inflates the value of rum produced must also be eliminated. Along with the value of imported raw materials must be excluded the duty paid on them and their costs of distribution. Table 16 below analyses the trends between 1949 and 1953.

TABLE 16. DEDUCTIONS FOR DOUBLE COUNTING, 1949-53

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
					\$ 000
Imports of materials	14,500	16,500	22,900	23,000	20,200
Distribution costs	4,800	5,500	7,300	7,300	6,700
Government and business purchases from each other	5,004	5,362	6,919	5,800	6,441
Rates and maintenance	2,000	2,000	1,900	2,000	2,000
Excise duty	900	1,000	1,080	1,114	1,200
Total	27,204	30,362	40,099	39,214	36,541

Item 11: Gross domestic product

The gross domestic product is equal to the sum of items 1 to 9 minus item 10. Table 17 summarizes the position.

TABLE 17. THE GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT 1949-53

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
					\$ 000
Sugar and molasses*	20,302	23,431	31,230	31,105	32,187
Subsidiary agriculture	7,562	7,488	7,487	7,451	8,731
Fisheries	900	900	953	1,382	2,234
Manufacturers	11,750	11,809	14,864	15,147	17,204
Public utilities	1,890	2,070	2,175	2,325	2,360
Distribution of imports	10,907	13,334	16,419	16,708	13,418
Government service	8,456	7,800	8,700	9,453	10,750
Other service	8,754	9,362	9,853	10,040	10,140
Rent	3,900	4,000	4,100	4,200	4,300
Capital goods	3,983	4,568	6,018	5,425	4,817
Total	77,404	84,762	101,899	103,236	106,141
Deductions	27,204	30,362	40,099	39,214	36,541
Gross domestic product at factor cost	51,200	54,400	61,800	64,022	69,600

*Includes value of Sugar Preference Certificates.

Item 12: Provision for capital consumption

During the process of production a portion of the community's stock of fixed capital equipment becomes worn out. Part of it becomes out-of-date through technical innovation. The enterprise sector of the economy makes provision annually for the rehabilitation and replacement of those portions of its equipment which become obsolete or worn out. Table 18 summarizes

the information on this item which was available from taxation statistics. (The annually graduated increase in this item is partly due to incompleteness of the data).

TABLE 18. PROVISION FOR THE CONSUMPTION OF FIXED CAPITAL, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Total	800	900	1,000	1,100	1,200

Item 13: Net factor incomes and gifts from abroad.

These represent earnings of Barbadian labour and capital employed abroad. During the earlier part of the present century there was a tremendous exodus of the population which continued until the time of the Great Depression when large numbers were repatriated. Many of these emigrants are still resident abroad and they, and their families, remit appreciable sums of money to friends and relatives in Barbados. During and after the second world war, large numbers of Barbadians were recruited on contract for temporary employment abroad. Some of these workers are still overseas and remittances from them are substantial. Over a period of years Barbadians have built up large investments overseas, incomes from which are important contributions to the national income. The position is summarized in Table 19 below.

TABLE 19. NET FACTOR INCOMES FROM OVERSEAS, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Total	4,400	5,100	6,900	6,800	6,000

Item 14: Net national product.

This is the summary of the net output of goods and services by Barbadian factors and production located at home, i.e. item 11 *minus* item 12, *plus* the contribution of Barbadian labour and capital to production overseas (item 13.)

TABLE 20. NET NATIONAL PRODUCT, 1949-53

	\$ million				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Gross domestic product at factor cost	51.2	54.4	61.8	64.0	69.6
Net factor income from abroad	3.4	4.8	6.7	6.5	6.0
Less provisions for capital consumption	.6	.6	.8	.8	1.2
Total	54.0	58.6	67.7	69.7	74.4

PART II

THE NATIONAL INCOME

Another approach to the measurement of the national income is by aggregating all incomes received by the factors of production normally resident in the island. In Barbados statistics of employment and incomes are incomplete and the national income aggregate is therefore more tenuous than the production aggregate.

The latest stock-taking of employment in the island is contained in the *West Indian Census, 1946* (Part C) (5). Since the Census was taken certain significant changes have been occurring in the economy, but information concerning them is qualitative rather than quantitative. It was therefore necessary to use such qualitative information as is available to cover the gaps in the figures. The following trends would seem to be the main changes which an impressionistic observation of the economy tends to reveal:

(1) Increasing money wages, including production bonuses, have tended to attract more labour for employment in the sugar industry, and the greatly increased yields of cane in tons per acre have increased employment in this industry during harvest time.

(2) Technical changes involving increased substitution of motor-propelled for animal-drawn transport since the Census was taken have resulted in the rapid decline of those categories of employment connected with animal-drawn transport, e.g. blacksmiths, wheel-wrights, 'leader-boys', saddlers, harness-makers, etc.

(3) New employment connected with the maintenance of motor-propelled transport has been created in "factory and workshop" industry.

(4) The difficulty of finding employment has led to the squeezing of labour into the "service industries".

(5) The recent acceleration of population growth, with its corresponding increase in the number of school-leavers seeking jobs, is not matched by a corresponding increase of opportunities for employment by way of new jobs or emigration, and has resulted in increased unemployment.

In the main it would seem reasonable to conclude that the increase of employment since the Census has lagged behind the number of people seeking their first job annually; that the pattern of employment delineated in the Report of the Census has altered appreciably; and that the long-term trend of reduction of employment in agriculture (which has been going on during the last hundred years) is temporarily halted.

Comment on the nature and extent of unemployment in Barbados is of some relevance here. At the time of the 1946 Census the number of wage-

earners describing themselves as unemployed was 4,964 persons, accounting for 6.8 per cent of total wage-earners. The average duration of unemployment for all reasons was three months, with the heaviest concentration on durations between three months and six and a half months. Among males the incidence was greatest with farm labourers, carpenters, masons, mechanics, seamen and casual labourers. Among females heaviest toll was taken of domestic servants, shop assistants, and farm labourers. At the time of the Census there were 2,295 people who were seeking their first job. Therefore, total unemployment, including those who already had jobs and those who did not, was 7,259 or approximately 7.7 per cent of the labour force in April, 1946.

Since there has been no significant change in the economy since 1946, excepting the rapid rise of sugar production, it is possible to build up, on the basis of the known unemployment figures for that year and information on school-leavers who were known to get jobs in subsequent years, a rough (indeed, very rough) order-of-magnitude estimate of the present volume of unemployment. The numbers of school-leavers seeking jobs annually is somewhere around 3,000, about half of whom find themselves some form of employment, leaving the other half to join the ranks of unemployed. (It is impossible to be more precise here because available statistics are too patchy; but what is important is not so much whether the figures are right or wrong, but whether they give a rough idea of the magnitude of this problem. Up to the end of 1953 some 12,000 persons may have been added to the list of unemployed since the Census. This would bring total unemployment to about 19,000 persons which probably represents somewhere between 15 and 20 per cent of the labour force.

With these considerations in mind, one can proceed to estimate the total annual incomes earned in the period 1949 to 1953. The frame is essentially the Census figures on the distribution of unemployment by industries adjusted in the light of the foregoing assumptions. The Labour Department's annual reports contain certain information on wages, but do not cover all categories of employment. It was therefore necessary to fill in the gaps by interviews with private employers and wage-earners. The analysis which follows in the remainder of this chapter brings together such fragments of information which in one way or other became available.

Table 21 outlines the framework of the analysis of the national income.

TABLE 21. ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL INCOME BY ITEMS, 1949-53.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Wages, salaries and professional income. | 4. Rent and other incomes. |
| 2. Incomes of agricultural proprietors. | 5. National income. |
| 3. Profits and interest and dividends. | |

DETAILED ANALYSIS

Item 1: Wages, salaries and professional income

The main classifications used here follow those contained in Table 46 of the Report of the Census, 1946 (Part C). It was necessary in some important instances to depart from a strict following of the Census classification in order to make the best use of information available. As one instance, for example, the Census classification does *not* identify in Table 46 of the Census Report "sugar factory workers", which is a sizeable group whose total earnings are substantial.

Agriculture. Agriculture is the mainstay of the economy, and, at the 1946 Census provided work for 27.6 per cent of the population. Agricultural workers are organized, and negotiations between the Barbados Workers' Union and the Barbadian Sugar Producers' Association have produced substantial increases of wage rates and bonuses during the period under review. The annual increases of wage rates over those of the previous year were 12½ per cent in 1950 and in 1951, 15 per cent in 1952, and 12½ per cent in 1953. In addition to increases in basic wages each year, bonuses were paid as a percentage of crop-time earnings. The percentages paid were 6 in 1949, 7 in 1950, 19 in 1951, 13 in 1952 and 11½ in 1953.

The basic data on earnings of agricultural workers on estates are contained in the reports of the Labour Department, and on the basis of this information the estimates in Table 22 below were compiled.

TABLE 22. EARNINGS IN AGRICULTURE, 1949-53.

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
	\$ 000				
Crop	3,282	3,708	4,705	4,969	5,579
Hard-Times	2,323	2,510	2,944	3,322	3,249
Bonus	160	210	785	582	700
Total	5,765	6,428	8,434	8,873	9,528

Quarrying and mining. The chief workers here are engaged in quarrying limestone for building and road-making. Since the Census new employment in this category has been created in the production of natural gas and in prospecting for oil. The magnitude of this new employment is not known exactly, but is likely to be small.

The Census revealed a total of 403 workers in this group. It is believed that the total is now probably much bigger. There is considerable dovetailing of employment between quarrying and the sugar industry. In crop time some of the male, and almost all the female, workers in the quarries find work in the sugar industry and return to the quarries in "hard times". The average weekly earnings of quarry-workers were the same for 1949 and 1950. In the period 1951 to 1953 there was a 25 per cent increase. The estimated annual

earnings were \$167,700 for 1949 and 1950 and \$209,500 for 1951, 1952 and 1953.

Fishing. Approximately 1,500 persons were engaged in fishing as their principal occupation at the time of the Census. Here employment has been expanding. Seasonal migration into the sugar industry is noticeable. On the basis of information supplied by the Fisheries Officer, the total annual earnings of fishermen were estimated as set out in Table 23 below.

TABLE 23. EARNINGS OF FISHERMEN, 1949-53.

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Total annual earnings	580	580	600	750	930

Factory and workshops. The workers here covered are those classified in Group E of Table 46 of the Census, 1946 (Part C). It is difficult to trace the sugar factory workers as a group in the Census analysis under this heading (Group E of Table 46). Their earnings are substantial and it is necessary to include them here. The detailed calculations have been omitted. However, in arriving at the estimated annual earnings of the different groups of workers, which was based on information on wage rates obtained from the Labour Department Reports, and from interviews with private individuals connected with such employment, account has been taken of those frictional, seasonal and structural factors which tended to reduce employment. Table 24 below summarizes the position.

TABLE 24. EARNINGS IN FACTORY AND WORKSHOP OCCUPATIONS, 1949-53.

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Sugar factory workers	1,835	2,075	2,593	2,691	2,593
Bakers	218	218	250	250	200
Blacksmiths	187	187	187	180	180
Boot and shoemakers	516	582	600	600	600
Butchers	81	89	98	108	118
Cabinet makers	801	801	807	815	872
Dressmakers	1,000	1,000	1,200	1,100	1,200
Mechanics	1,072	1,292	1,320	1,300	1,400
Printers	180	190	200	210	220
Tinsmiths	63	63	63	63	63
Tailors	800	900	1,000	950	1,050
Other factory tradesmen	748	762	842	850	1,000
Coopers	366	360	488	480	480
Other factory workers	416	463	512	553	611
Total	8,283	8,982	10,160	10,150	10,587

Building and construction. The numbers employed in the different occupations here have been increasing, but it is doubtful that the total amount of work has kept pace with the increase in numbers. The result seems to be that the average duration of unemployment has increased. Seasonal migra-

tion to the sugar industry is particularly noticeable among carpenters, masons and painters. Table 25 shows the estimated earnings in this group.

TABLE 25. EARNINGS IN CONSTRUCTIONAL TRADE, 1949-53*

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Masons	900	1,000	1,300	1,250	1,200
Carpenters	1,500	1,600	1,800	1,700	1,650
Electricians	125	146	200	175	150
Painters	160	200	300	300	250
Plumbers	115	154	200	175	150
Total	2,800	3,100	3,800	3,600	3,400

*There was a decline in building and construction after 1951, but wage rates increased. It is assumed that these increases were not sufficient to raise earnings beyond, or even maintain them at, the 1951 level.

Transport and communications. This relates to group H of Table 46 of the Census (Part C) adjusted to take account of the changes in employment since 1946. Allowance was made for the earnings of lorry-drivers who are employed in agriculture and are therefore already included in Table 22. The estimated total earnings of this group are shown in Table 26.

TABLE 26. EARNINGS IN TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS, 1949-53.

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Total earnings	1,400	1,500	1,600	1,600	1,700

Trade and commerce. A very striking feature of the employment situation in Barbados is the large number of people engaged in the distribution trades — particularly retail distribution — having regard to the size of the economy. The difficult unemployment situation accounts for this, forcing people to exploit every means of working for a living. The estimated earnings for this group are shown in Table 27.

TABLE 27. EARNINGS IN TRADE AND COMMERCE, 1949-53.

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Shopkeepers	840	900	950	950	975
Merchants	450	490	500	500	525
Sales persons (in shops)	850	900	900	925	1,000
Higglers, etc.	700	750	750	775	850
Other trades	360	360	400	400	450
Total	3,200	3,400	3,500	3,550	3,800

Service, clerical and other. The definition of "professional service" used here is the same as the Census definition which includes both independent professional workers and salaried employees. The classification of "public service" according to the Census relates mainly to the regiment, police and postal services. It is not clear from the Census whether administrative officers

who are not already classified under professional service belong here, and, as a matter of convenience, it has been decided to treat them in this group. The clerks of the Civil Service are treated under "clerical occupations", along with clerks employed in commerce. Personal service covers all the categories of workers enumerated in part M in Table 46 of the Census. Workers whose occupations are not elsewhere specified are treated here under "other labourers". The total estimated earnings of the various groups are shown in Table 28.

TABLE 28. EARNINGS IN SERVICE, CLERICAL AND OTHER OCCUPATIONS, 1949-53.

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Professional	1,512	1,718	1,763	1,800	1,800
Public	936	1,050	1,090	1,150	1,230
Personal	3,800	3,900	4,000	4,100	4,200
Clerical	3,252	3,300	3,600	3,650	4,470
Other	400	434	547	500	700
Total	9,900	10,400	11,000	11,200	12,400

Item 2: Incomes of agricultural proprietors

The incomes of proprietors of sugar estates are treated here along with incomes derived by peasants from the agricultural holdings. The incomes of peasant farmers include net receipts from the sale of cane after deduction of expenses plus the value of subsistence output consumed on the farm. The incomes of peasants from cultivation of rented land is also included in this item.

TABLE 29. INCOMES OF AGRICULTURAL PROPRIETORS, 1949-53.

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Estate owners	2,600	2,800	3,200	2,700	2,900
Peasant proprietors	4,000	4,300	4,600	4,400	4,500
Total	6,600	7,100	7,800	7,100	7,400

Item 3: Profits, interest and dividends

This item includes "company income" and savings of the various statutory Sugar Funds. The estimates of profit derived from income tax statistics are biased downwards all over the world, owing to possible tax evasion and the administrative difficulty of collecting tax from non-liable and marginal cases. Interest and dividends received by Barbadians on investments at home and abroad are included here.

TABLE 30. ESTIMATED CORPORATE PROFITS, INTEREST AND DIVIDENDS, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Company income	5,600	7,100	8,700	9,400	10,000
Net income of Sugar Boards	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,400
Interest and dividends,	2,500	2,600	2,600	2,600	2,600
Total	9,400	11,000	12,600	13,300	14,000

Item 4: Rent and other incomes

The figure for rent is the same as in Part I, less rates and maintenance. Incomes not already included elsewhere are treated here. These incomes consist largely of remittances, interest and dividends from overseas.

TABLE 31. RENT AND OTHER INCOMES, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Rent	1,900	2,000	2,200	2,200	2,300
Other incomes	3,500	4,100	5,700	5,700	5,000
Total	5,400	6,100	7,900	7,900	7,300

Item 5: The national income

This is the summary of the earnings of the factors of production for their contribution to economic activity in Barbados, resulting in the net domestic product, plus the net income received by the island for the participation of its labour and capital in the production of other countries.

TABLE 32. THE NATIONAL INCOME OF BARBADOS 1949-53

	\$ million				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Wages, salaries and professional incomes	32.3	34.5	39.2	39.9	43.4
Income of agricultural proprietors	6.0	6.6	7.3	7.7	7.3
Profits, interest and dividends	10.3	11.4	13.3	14.2	16.4
Rent and other	5.4	6.1	7.9	7.9	7.3
Net national income	54.0	58.6	67.7	69.7	74.4

PART III.

THE NATIONAL EXPENDITURE

The third alternative to the measurement of the national income is by way of adding up all purchases of goods and services. The basic logic of this method is that the incomes earned in bringing the national product into being are spent in the purchase of it. In an open economy the process of this simple principle tends to become complicated by international transactions. However, it all adds up to the fact that in order to reap the benefits of international specialization, Barbados concentrates on producing cane sugar and tourist facilities for which her resources have greatest relative advantages, and sells them to the rest of the world in exchange for commodities which other countries can produce more cheaply than Barbados. Thus, the people of Barbados will not purchase only the same goods and services produced by themselves, but also an amount of goods and services produced by foreigners which has been received in exchange for exports from Barbados. Occasionally, Barbados may buy more from foreigners than they buy from her, and vice versa: the excess or deficit constitutes the net change of indebtedness between Barbadians and foreigners.

A very high proportion of the domestic product is exported and, as a result, a correspondingly large portion of the goods and services purchased by Barbadians is imported. The trade statistics therefore cover a wide area of the total expenditure of Barbadians. The classification of the trade statistics permits analyses according to economic purpose, e.g. consumption, raw materials and capital formation for most of them, though it is difficult to break down the unenumerated items on this basis. The treatment of consumption expenditure on manufactured goods produced locally presents a problem since there is no comprehensive documentation available. For want of a better solution, estimates were derived from taxation figures of production of consumer goods and K. H. Straw's "Budgets and Nutrition in Barbados." (4). Expenditure on capital goods was less difficult since nearly all machinery and building materials are imported and it was necessary to take account only of distribution and installation costs along with local limestone used in building and construction.

The analysis in this section attempts to illustrate how Barbados disposed of its income during the five year period 1949 to 1953. The channels of disposal can be broadly classified into two groups:

- (a) purchase of goods and services for the satisfaction of current wants;
- (b) saving.

Group (a) represents consumption expenditure. Savings constitute the dif-

ference between the national income and consumption expenditure, and are either absorbed in the purchase of machinery, buildings, roads, etc., which add to the national stock of capital equipment or flow abroad in the form of foreign investment.

So far attention has been devoted to the equation: 'national product = national income = national expenditure'. In Parts I and II the first two sides of the equation have been treated 'net' of indirect taxation. In this Part it will therefore be necessary to eliminate taxes from the national expenditure since these inflate the market price of a commodity or service beyond the costs of the factors embodied in its production.

The following table is the chart showing the manner in which the data available have been treated. Detailed analyses follow:

TABLE 33. ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL EXPENDITURE BY ITEMS, 1949-53

1. Personal consumption expenditure.	5. Less indirect taxes.
2. Government current expenditure.	6. Subsidies.
3. Net domestic capital formation.	7. National expenditure.
4. Surplus of nation on current account.	

Item 1: Consumption expenditure on goods and services

This item treats of the outlay by persons in their capacity as consumers. The treatment of purchase of consumer goods by persons is open to wider margins of error because of the use of *per capita* estimates of consumption derived from sampling in a prosperous period, and because of the absence of any reliable documentation on changes in the stocks of imported consumer goods. It would appear that there were increases in stocks of imported commodities in 1952. This helps to distort the picture of trends emerging from Table 34. In spite of these limitations in the basic statistical material, it is considered that the overall totals are reliable order-of-magnitude estimates of the true position. Table 34 shows the composition of personal consumption expenditure.

TABLE 34. COMPOSITION OF PERSONAL CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE, 1949-53

	\$ million				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Food	22.0	26.2	27.0	28.6	32.3
Drink and tobacco	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.7
Clothing and other personal effects	6.0	6.7	6.9	7.0	7.0
Rent and other household operation	7.1	7.0	7.0	7.3	7.5
Other	5.8	6.6	6.8	6.7	6.8
Total personal consumption expenditure	44.3	50.0	51.3	53.2	57.3

Item 2: Government current expenditure.

A large part of the national product of goods and services is bought by

government for carrying on its work. Government current expenditure for the period 1949 to 1953 is shown in Table 35.

TABLE 35. GOVERNMENT CURRENT EXPENDITURE, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Wages and salaries	*4,500	4,200	4,400	*4,600	*5,423
Other	4,400	4,700	5,700	5,700	5,800
Total	8,900	8,900	10,100	10,300	11,200

*Includes salaries revision and arrears of salaries and wages.

Item 3: Net domestic capital formation

The part of the national income which is not spent on consumer goods and services but is devoted to increasing the amount of capital equipment in Barbados, e.g. buildings, machinery, roads and so on, is treated under this item. It is possible to distinguish four approaches to analysing it:

- (i) from the point of view of the *supply* of capital goods by using statistics of production, imports and exports;
- (ii) from the *demand* side by summing expenditure on capital goods by purchasers;
- (iii) from the *growth* side by measuring the changes in the total value of the community's capital equipment between different dates;
- (iv) by examining the *financial* process of making funds available for investment.

In the nature of the circumstances obtaining in Barbados the only feasible approach to the measurement of capital formation is from the *supply* side, using the trade statistics as the basis. One then proceeds to build up estimates of capital formation for Barbados along the following lines:

- (a) retained imports of capital goods *plus* duty paid, *less* amounts used for:
 - (i) maintenance and repair;
 - (ii) domestic purposes;
- (b) *plus* capital goods produced locally, e.g. fishing boats, building materials and so on;
- (c) *plus* costs of distributing and installing capital goods;
- (d) *plus* net changes in stocks of goods and materials.

This corresponds broadly to the manner in which capital formation takes place in Barbados: public and private construction of buildings, roads and bridges; importation of machinery, vehicles and equipment; and additions to stocks of goods and materials.

In order to arrive at reliable estimates of the amount of capital goods used

up in maintenance and repair, and also the costs of distribution and installation, certain arbitrary formulae, which took local conditions into account, were applied to the basic statistics of capital imports. The following formulae were applied:

(1) ITEM	(2) PERCENTAGE OF IMPORTS ALLOWED FOR MAINTENANCE	(3) PERCENTAGE ALLOWED FOR:	
		(a) Distribution	(b) Installation
Timber	50	33½	100
Metal goods	50	33½	50
Cement, asbestos, glass	20	33½	100
Paints and varnishes	50	33½	100
Machinery	20	(together 40%)	
Vehicles	—	(together 40%)	
Vehicles (parts)	100	33½	20

The final picture of capital formation which emerges from the available data is summarized in Table 36.

TABLE 36. DOMESTIC CAPITAL FORMATION, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Building and construction	4,713	5,617	7,706	6,475	5,815
Transport equipment	1,507	1,770	2,667	2,478	1,801
Machinery and other equipment	2,684	3,063	3,480	4,548	3,733
Gross domestic fixed capital formation	8,904	10,450	13,853	13,501	11,349
Changes in stocks	+1,700	— 800	+5,000	+4,100	—2,700
Gross domestic capital formation	10,604	9,650	18,853	17,601	8,649
Less provisions for depreciation	600	672	769	825	1,222
Net domestic capital formation	10,004	8,978	18,084	16,776	7,427

Item 4: Surplus of the nation on current balance of payments

The net result of international transactions might leave a surplus or deficit in the Barbados current balance of payments with the rest of the world. This indicates the extent to which Barbados is living within the limits set by its earnings of foreign exchange. Table 37 is an illustration of the net changes of foreign earnings of Barbados during the five years 1949 to 1953.

TABLE 37. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS ACCOUNT, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
<i>Exports</i>					
Goods	22.8	28.1	36.0	40.5	41.8
Services	4.8	5.4	6.0	6.5	6.7
Net factor income from abroad	3.4	4.8	6.7	6.5	6.0
Total receipts from abroad	31.0	38.3	48.7	53.5	54.5
<i>Imports</i>					
Goods	35.0	39.9	53.1	55.5	46.8
Services	.7	2.4	.7	2.1	2.0
Total disbursements abroad	35.7	42.3	53.8	57.6	48.8
Surplus of the nation on current account	-4.7	-4.0	-5.1	-4.1	5.7

Item 5: Indirect taxes.

Taxes levied by government which "are chargeable as a business expense, and taxes paid by households on the possession of goods and services without regard to personal circumstances"^a are treated as indirect taxes. The effect of these is to inflate the value of the net national product above the costs of the factors embodied in its making. The sum total of expenditure including such taxes therefore is equal to the value of the gross domestic product at market price. To estimate the net national expenditure which would correspond to the national product shown above, it is necessary to eliminate indirect taxation. The main indirect taxes levied in Barbados are customs duties on imports, excise duty on rum produced for local consumption, taxes on property, stamp duties, licences, fees and entertainment taxes. Table 38 summarizes the position.

TABLE 38. INDIRECT TAXES, 1949-53

	\$ 000				
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Total indirect taxes	5,100	5,900	7,300	6,700	6,800

Item 6: Subsidies

For various reasons a government may choose to give rebates on the purchase of specific commodities in order to stimulate production of certain goods or to mitigate the effect of certain price increases. In Barbados certain essential items of consumption—e.g. salted pork—are subsidized. Since the effect of subsidization operates in the opposite way to indirect taxation, it is necessary to deduct subsidies from indirect taxes in order to bring the national expenditure into line with the value of the net national product at factor cost.

^aU.N. definition.

Table 39 below shows the total value of subsidies paid by government during the period 1949 to 1953.

TABLE 39. SUBSIDIES, 1949-53

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
	\$ 000				
Total subsidies paid	1,100	1,100	1,000	800	500

Item 7: The National expenditure

This is the summary item reconciling the flows of consumption and investment expenditure with the national income and national product, after making the necessary allowances for taxation and net foreign lending. Table 40 sets out the position.

TABLE 40. THE NATIONAL EXPENDITURE OF BARBADOS, 1949-53

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
	\$ million				
Personal consumption expenditure	44.3	50.0	51.3	53.2	57.3
Government current expenditure	8.9	8.9	10.1	10.3	11.2
Net domestic capital formation	10.0	8.9	18.1	16.7	7.4
Surplus of the nation on current account	-4.7	-4.0	-5.1	-4.1	5.7
Less indirect taxes	5.6	6.4	7.6	7.3	7.7
Add Subsidies	1.1	1.1	1.0	.8	.5
Total	54.0	58.6	67.7	69.6	74.4

PART IV.

THE NATIONAL ACCOUNTS

The three preceding parts of this study treated of the size of the economy, analysing the main components of the national product by industrial origin, illustrating the flows of incomes which accrued to the different factors of production, and summarizing expenditure by economic function. This treatment is generally referred to as the 'national income' approach to economic measurement. It is in effect a triple-entry accounting system, which seeks to measure the total amount of economic activity during a given period and to show the relative importance of the shares of various components in the three approaches to the national income.

In recent years interest has developed beyond knowing the size of the economy, and attention is at times focused on its structure and working and the inter-relationships of its various parts. Such an X-ray picture is obtained by detailed examination of the various transactions taking place in the economy. The basic idea is that the several sectors of the economy interact on each other by means of their transactions: each transaction is at once a purchase for one sector and a sale for another. Thus the accounts for the various sectors are inter-locked by a complex system of debits and credits between each other. Accounts are drawn up for the main sectors of the economy—persons, enterprises, public authorities, capital formation and external transactions—showing the intermesh along the lines of double-entry book-keeping. These reveal the structure and operation of the economy in a way which makes it possible to discuss the effects of changes in one sector on others and on the whole economy. This is because the accounts are in reality a matrix into which the whole economy is fitted, and the logical structure of the inter-relationships sets a limit to the variation of the several components.

The Accounts which follow are based on the standard structure recommended by the United Nations. They are really a re-cast of the tables already treated in Parts I to III. The tables are followed by notes which explain the inter-relationships of the various entries.

Account 1

This account presents a balance-sheet of the production sector showing on the debit side the market valuation of the gross domestic product and on the credit side, how this total product was distributed between various uses—consumption and investment.

Item 1.1 is the value of the product of all economic activity within the boundaries of the island during the periods specified. It includes the value

THE NATIONAL INCOME OF BARBADOS

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ACCOUNT 1. DOMESTIC PRODUCT

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
						\$ million				
1.1 Gross domestic product at factor cost (2.9)	51.2	54.4	61.8	64.0	69.6	1.4 Private consumption expenditure (4.1)	44.3	50.0	51.3	57.3
1.2 Indirect taxes (5.7)	5.6	6.4	7.6	7.3	7.7	1.5 General government consumption expenditure (5.1)	8.9	8.9	10.1	11.2
1.3 Less subsidies (5.2)	1.1	1.1	1.0	.8	.5	1.6 Gross domestic fixed capital formation (3.1)	8.9	10.4	13.8	11.3
						1.7 Increase in stocks (3.2)	1.7	-0.8	5.0	-2.7
						1.8 Exports of goods and services (6.1)	27.6	33.5	42.0	48.5
						Expenditure on gross domestic product and imports	91.4	102.0	122.2	125.6
						1.9 Less imports of goods and services - (6.3)	35.7	42.3	53.8	48.8
Gross domestic product at market prices	55.7	59.7	68.4	70.5	76.8	Expenditure on gross domestic product	55.7	59.7	68.4	76.8

ACCOUNT 2. NATIONAL INCOME

ACCOUNT 2. NATIONAL INCOME						\$ million					
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953		1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
2.1 Compensation of employees (4.5)	30.6	32.8	38.7	40.5	42.9	2.9 Gross domestic product at factor cost (1.1)	51.2	54.4	61.8	64.0	69.6
2.2 Income from farms, professions and other unincorporated enterprise (4.6)	11.4	12.3	13.1	12.7	13.2	2.10 Net factor income payments from the rest of the world (6.2)	3.4	4.8	6.7	6.5	6.0
2.3 Income from property (4.7)	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.7	2.11 Less provisions for the consumption of fixed capital—(3.3)	.6	.6	.8	.8	1.2
2.4 Saving of corporations (3.4)											
(a) private	3.1	4.0	5.0	5.2	5.8						
(b) public	1.3	1.2	1.8	1.5	2.3						
2.5 Direct taxes on corporations (5.8)	2.5	3.1	3.7	4.2	4.5						
2.6 General government income from property and entrepreneurship (5.5)	.7	.7	.8	1.0	1.1						
2.7 Less interest on the public debt (5.6)	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1						
2.8 Less interest on consumers debt (4.8)	—	—	—	—	—						
National income	54.0	58.6	67.7	69.7	74.4	Net national product at factor cost	54.0	58.6	67.7	69.7	74.4

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ACCOUNT 3. DOMESTIC CAPITAL FORMATION

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
3.1 Gross domestic fixed capital formation (1.6)	8.9	10.4	13.8	13.5	11.3	3.3 Provisions for the consumption of fixed capital—(2.11)	.6	.8	.8	1.2
3.2 Increase in stocks (1.7)	1.7	-0.8	5.0	4.1	-2.7	3.4 Saving of corporations (2.4)				
						(a) private	3.1	4.0	5.0	5.8
						(b) public	1.3	1.2	1.8	2.3
						3.5 Net capital transfers from households and private non-profit institutions (4.11)				
						3.6 Net capital transfers from general government (5.11)	.8	-1.2	4.0	2.0
						3.7 Net International transfers received by corporations — (6.6)		3.4	3.4	3.9
						3.8 Net borrowing of corporations — (4.14 + 5.15 + 6.9)	4.0	1.6	3.8	-6.6
						Finance of gross domestic capital formation	10.6	9.6	18.8	17.6
Gross domestic capital formation	10.6	9.6	18.8	17.6	8.6					8.6

ACCOUNT 4. HOUSEHOLDS AND PRIVATE NON-PROFIT INSTITUTIONS
(Current Account)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953		1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
											\$ million
4.1 Consumption expenditure (1.4)	44.3	50.0	51.3	53.2	57.3	4.5 Compensation of employees (2.1)	30.6	32.8	38.7	40.5	42.9
4.2 Direct taxes (5.9)	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.3	3.6	4.6 Income from farms, professions and other unincorporated enterprises (2.2)					
4.3 Other current transfers to general government (5.10)	.1	.1	.2	.1	.2	4.7 Income from property (2.3)	11.4	12.3	13.1	12.7	13.2
4.4 Saving (4.12)	.5	-2.1	3.4	3.1	1.5	4.8 Less interest on consumer's debt (2.8)	4.5	4.6	4.7	4.7	4.7
						4.9 Current transfers from general government (5.3)	-	-	-	-	-
							1.3	1.2	1.6	1.8	1.8
						Income of households and private non-profit institutions					
Disposal of income	47.8	50.9	58.1	59.7	62.6		47.8	50.9	58.1	59.7	62.6
CAPITAL RECONCILIATION ACCOUNT											
4.10 Net capital transfers to general government (5.13)						4.12 Saving (4.4)	.5	-2.1	3.4	3.1	1.5
4.11 Net capital transfers to domestic capital formation (3.5)	.2	.1	.3	.2	.3	4.13 Net international transfers received (6.7)	.5	1.0	.9	.9	.8
	.8	-1.2	4.0	3.8	2.0	4.14 Net borrowing-(3.8)+5.15+6.9)	-	-	-	-	-
Disbursements	1.0	-1.1	4.3	4.0	2.3	Receipts	1.0	-1.1	4.3	4.0	2.3

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ACCOUNT 5. GENERAL GOVERNMENT
(Current Account)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	\$ million
5.1 Consumption expenditure (1.5)	8.9	8.9	10.1	10.3	11.2	5.5	Income from property and entrepreneurship (2.6)	.7	.8	1.0	1.1
5.2 Subsidies—(1.3)	1.1	1.1	1.0	.8	.5	5.6	Less interest on the public debt (2.7)	.1	.1	.1	.1
5.3 Current transfers to households (4.9)	1.3	1.2	1.6	1.8	1.8	5.7	Indirect taxes (1.2)	5.6	7.6	7.3	7.7
5.4 Savings (5.12)	.4	1.9	2.7	2.9	3.5	5.8	Direct taxes on corporations (2.5)	2.5	3.1	4.2	4.5
						5.9	Direct taxes on households (4.2)	2.9	3.2	3.3	3.6
						5.10	Other current transfers from households (4.3)	.1	.1	.1	.2
Disposal of current revenue	11.7	13.1	15.4	15.8	17.0	Current revenue	11.7	13.1	15.4	15.8	17.0
CAPITAL RECONCILIATION ACCOUNT											
5.11 Net capital transfers to domestic capital formation (3.6)	.8	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.9	5.12	Saving (5.4)	.4	1.9	2.7	3.5
						5.13	Net capital transfers from households (4.10)	.2	.1	.3	.3
						5.14	Net international transfers received (6.8)	.2	1.4	.4	.1
						5.15	Net borrowing — (3.8+4.14+6.9)	—	—	—	—
Disbursement	.8	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.9	Receipts	.8	3.4	3.4	3.1	3.9

ACCOUNT 6. EXTERNAL TRANSACTIONS (REST OF WORLD ACCOUNT)
(Current Account)

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
						\$ million				
6.1 Export of goods and services (1.8)	27.6	33.5	42.0	47.0	48.5	6.3 Imports of goods and services—(1.9)	35.7	42.3	53.8	48.8
6.2 Net factor income payments to the nation (2.10)	3.4	4.8	6.7	6.5	6.0	6.4 Surplus of the nation on current account (6.5)	-4.7	-4.0	-5.1	5.7
Current receipts from abroad	31.0	38.3	48.7	53.5	54.5	Disposal of current receipts from abroad	31.0	38.3	48.7	53.5
CAPITAL RECONCILIATION ACCOUNT										
6.5 Surplus of the nation on current account (6.4)	-4.7	-4.0	-5.1	-4.1	5.7	6.9 Net lending to the rest of the world	-4.0	-1.6	-3.8	6.6
6.6 Net international transfers to corporations (3.7)										
6.7 Net international transfers to households (4.13)	.7	2.4	1.3	.9	.9					
6.8 Net international transfers to general government (5.14)										
Receipts	-4.0	-1.6	-3.8	-3.2	6.6	Disbursements	-4.0	-1.6	-3.8	6.6

of buildings, plant and machinery used-up during the process of production and therefore the valuation is "gross". But the value of this product is measured at the point of production, i.e. before it enters the market, and so, as the taxes levied by the government on purchases have not yet been taken into account, this value measures only the cost of all the factors which went into the making of this product; in short, it is the value of the product "at factor cost". The purchase of several items constituting this product are subject to government taxes, e.g. customs and excise duties, which are part of the cost to the consumer. These are the so-called "indirect taxes", item 1.2. While taxes are levied on the purchases of certain commodities, rebates are given by the government on the purchases of others. These are called "subsidies", item 1.3, which reduce the cost to the consumer of the commodity concerned. Item 1.2 minus item 1.3 represents the net additional cost of the domestic product to the consumer through indirect taxation. This net additional cost by taxation *plus* the value of the product at factor cost is the final cost of the gross domestic product to the consumer, or its value at market price.

The gross domestic product at market prices is bought up for two purposes—consumption and investment. The purchasers are the households, government, firms and foreigners. The purchases by households and the government for consumption are shown in items 1.4 and 1.5. The purchases by firms for using-up as raw material cancel out so as to avoid counting the same output twice over. The goods purchased by households, the government and firms for investment in buildings, plant and machinery are added together in item 1.6. Output produced during the year not used for consumption or investment in fixed capital during the same period comprises item 1.7.^a

If the economy were closed off from international transactions, the sum of items 1.4, 1.5, 1.6 and 1.7 would be equal to the sum of items 1.1, and 1.2 minus 1.3. This would mean that the whole domestic product was purchased inside the economy and that all purchases inside the economy were necessarily part of the domestic product. This is not the case in an 'open' economy. In fact the gross domestic product (item 1.1) was bought up partly by people at home and partly by foreigners; and, similarly, items 1.4, 1.5, 1.6 and 1.7 consist of purchases of both domestic and foreign production. The customs duties in item 1.2, are in effect a tax levied on the purchase of foreign production. The purchase of foreign output and *vice versa* is simply a matter of exchange—exporting a given value of domestic production and importing an equal value of foreign production. This is cancelled out by subtracting item 1.9 from item 1.8. By adding the net result of this to the sum of items 1.4, 1.5, 1.6 and 1.7 one obtains a total expenditure in the economy which is equal to the market price of the gross domestic product. In other words, the expenditure by purchasers is equal to the cost to them of the goods and services available.

^aThis item is not treated as a residual in this paper.

Account 2

It has already been shown as one of the fundamental principles in the logic of national income calculations that the national income is equal to the national product, since the former was earned in the process of economic activity which resulted in the latter. Account 2 is the main balance sheet which reconciles these two relationships.

The incomes accruing to wage-earners for contributing to the production of item 1.1 (also item 2.9) is shown in item 2.1. The incomes of self-employed persons is shown in item 2.2. The incomes accruing to the owners of land, buildings and other forms of capital is shown in item 2.3. The profits earned by corporate enterprises for their share in production is the sum of interest and dividends paid to shareholders (this is part of item 2.3), plus direct taxes paid to government (item 2.5), plus the remainder after payment of dividends and taxes (item 2.4). Included in this item (for convenience) are the savings of the various statutory Sugar Funds. The income derived by government from ownership of factors of production is treated in item 2.6. The sum of items 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 is the total income earned by the various factors which participated in bringing the domestic product into being. It is usual to deduct from this total of incomes the amounts of interest paid on government debt and on debts incurred by households and private non-profit institutions in their capacity as consumers. The resulting total is the national income. This side of the balance sheet therefore shows how the national income was distributed between workers, owners of capital, businesses and government.

The debit side of the account shows the value of the total product which these factors contributed to bring into being. It is the gross product within the territory (item 2.9) plus the net return to factors normally resident within the island for their share in the production of output in overseas countries (item 2.10). This net income from abroad comprises interest and dividends on Barbadian capital invested overseas, and net earnings of Barbadian emigrants employed abroad. The significance of the word 'net' in the treatment of this item is to show that the return to foreign factors of production used up in economic activity in Barbados is deducted: therefore in the end we are dealing with a 'national' instead of a 'domestic' product. In Account 1 we dealt with the 'gross product', making no deductions for the wear and tear and obsolescence of capital equipment used-up in the process of production. This was correct since depreciation is a cost to the consumer. But it is not 'income' to a factor of production; therefore, we must deduct it in Account 2, item 2.11. Similarly, indirect taxation is a cost to the consumer, but not 'income', and must be ignored in this income account. We are thus left with the 'net' national product at factor cost which is, by definition, equal to the national income.

The incomes of employees plus the incomes of own-account workers and

property-owners form part of personal incomes which go to make up the income of households. These three items, 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3, therefore re-appear in the balance sheet of households, Account 4, on the income side. Undistributed profits remaining after the payment of interest, dividends and taxes have long been an important source of finance for investment. We therefore find this item, savings of corporations, item 2.4, appearing as a source of finance of the investment balance-sheet, Account 3. Direct taxes on corporations form part of the 'revenue' of government and thus is included in the 'receipts' side of Accounts along with government income from economic activity. Interest on the public debt is an expense of the government sector and appears again on the 'payments' side of the government's balance sheet. Similarly, interest on consumer debt is an expense of households and thus is treated in the 'out-goings' side of the households' account.

Account 3

The purpose of this account is to present a statement reconciling the gross value of the additions to the stock of capital equipment in the community with the sources from which this investment was financed. It enables one to see how much of domestic investment was financed by internal savings, how much of these internal savings were contributed by the different sectors — households, enterprise and government — and how much of this investment was financed from abroad, by borrowing or by investment by foreigners.

On the debit side of the balance sheet we have the total value of gross domestic investment broken down into two component parts, one summarizing investment in buildings, plant, machinery and other capital equipment (item 3.1) and the other net additions to stocks of goods and materials (item 3.2). No deduction has been made for depreciation in item 3.1, and thus the total of the two items represent the 'gross' value of investment. On the credit side of the statement we have the sources of investment funds. First there is the contribution of the business sector of the economy to domestic investment in the form of provisions for depreciation on buildings, plant and machinery (item 3.3) and undistributed profits (item 3.4). The sum of these two items (3.3 and 3.4) represents the total amount of money set aside by firms for increasing their stocks of capital equipment. However, this does not represent the total expenditure on capital goods and equipment in the business sector. Part of this investment is financed by loans from overseas and by foreign investors, both of which are shown here as items 3.7 and 3.8. The contribution by households and private non-profit institutions to domestic capital formation in the form of purchase of buildings, equipment, or stocks, shares, etc. is shown in item 3.5. Capital expenditure by the government is shown in item 3.6.

This statement brings out clearly the whole complex of the economic process of investment as illustrated by means of the inter-locking entries with the

other sector accounts. The total value of gross domestic capital formation entered on the debit side of this account corresponds logically to the gross output of capital goods plus stocks, i.e. items 1.6 and 1.7 of the production Account. On the credit side of the account is shown the portions of the national income, and the resources of the rest of the world, which have been used to finance investment in Barbados, i.e. items 2.11 and 2.4 of the national income Account, plus item 4.11 of the debit side of the households Account, plus the net borrowing of households and government on capital account plus the net lending to the rest of the world.

Account 4

In this account are analysed the sources of household income and the manner in which they are disposed. On the debit side the biggest item by far is expenditure on goods and services for consumption, e.g. food, fuel and light, clothing, recreation and so on. This is item 4.1, representing the market price of output consumed in households. By definition item 4.1 includes indirect taxes. The direct taxes levied on personal incomes which are part of household expenditure are treated in item 4.2. School fees paid at government-aided schools and fees received by government offices from persons are treated in item 4.3. The net savings of all households together, i.e. the excess of household incomes over expenditure, constitutes the remainder of the debit side of the current account of households (item 4.4).

On the credit side of the account is presented an analysis of the incomes accruing to households for their part in producing the national output. In item 4.5 we have part of labour income in the form of wages and salaries. Item 4.6 is the remainder of labour income accruing to self-employed persons in the form of professional incomes, incomes from the cultivation of own farms. The return to members of households and private non-profit institutions for the use of their land and capital in the productive process is treated in item 4.7. Besides the income derived by households for taking part in economic activity, there is also income in the form of transfer payments, e.g. interest on consumer's debt, pensions, poor relief and so on. These are treated in items 4.8 and 4.9. On this side of the account we are thus able to find out how the households are able to finance their expenditure.

A certain amount of investment is undertaken directly by households, the biggest item by far being building and improvement of houses and so on. The capital reconciliation Account for households attempts to give an analysis of household investment finance and the channels of investment. The two main items of household capital expenditure are payments to government of taxes on household capital in the form of estate and succession duties (item 4.10) and contributions to the acquisition of the national stock of capital goods and equipment (item 4.11). The sum of these two items represents the total disbursements by households and non-profit institutions on

domestic capital formation. On the credit side appears the sources of funds for household investment — household savings (item 4.12), gifts from overseas (item 4.13)^a and loans (item 4.14).^b

Account 5

This analysis attempts to show the sources from which government revenue is derived and the ways in which it is disposed. On the debit side we have what amounts to consumption *plus* saving. Government expenditure on consumable goods and services consists of wages and salaries paid to its employees (item 5.1), rebates on indirect taxation in the form of subsidies (item 5.2), social security payments in the form of pensions and poor relief (item 5.3). Government savings on the current budget are treated in item 5.4. The credit side of the account analyses revenue by its sources. The main sources are indirect (5.7) and direct (5.8 and 5.9) taxation. Less important is income from entrepreneurial activities (item 5.5) and fees of office, and the like (item 5.16). Interest on the public debt (item 5.6) must be deducted here as it is not treated as part of the national income.

We will now analyse the relationship between the government sector of the economy and domestic capital formation. In recent times, government contributions to the accumulation of the community's capital equipment have been increasing. In fact, where development programming is already in operation, a government's contribution to capital formation is very important. Item 5.11 of the capital account for this sector shows the sum total of government's capital expenditure — the amount debited by government to domestic capital formation. On the credit side is shown the sources of so-called 'development finance' — savings on the current budget (item 5.12), capital transfers from households to government, foreign-aid such as Development and Welfare grants in the case of Barbados, (item 5.14) and borrowing, including dis-saving (item 5.15).

Looking at this capital balance sheet the other way round, we find that it throws light on the financial implications of development programming. A given level of capital expenditure financed in a given manner involves certain stresses and strains on particular sectors of the economy as indicated by the interlocking entries of this account.

Account 6

This final balance sheet examines the relationship between Barbados and the rest of the world economy by means of international exchange of goods and services. As already pointed out in the notes to Account 1, the whole of the domestic product of goods and services is not used by the residents of

^aRough estimates of international transfers received from friends and relatives resident abroad.

^bEstimates based on loans from the Housing Fund.

the territory, but some of it is exported in exchange for quantities of the product of other nations which is used up by Barbadians. The total value of imports into the economy need not be limited to the value of the domestic product exported. It often exceeds or falls short of it by any amount. Where there is an excess it may be paid for either by incurring debt with the rest of the world, by earnings of Barbadian labour and capital employed overseas, by expenditure of the rest of the world on Barbadian services, or by gifts from abroad. Item 6.1 treats of that part of the domestic output of goods and services purchased by the rest of the world. Item 6.2 relates to the compensation of Barbadian labour and capital employed in producing the output of the rest of the world *minus* payments to foreign labour and capital employed in economic activity in Barbados. The sum of items 6.1 and 6.2 represents the total amount credited to the account of Barbados as a result of its international transactions, and is the value of goods and services which Barbados can purchase from the rest of the world without getting into debt.

On the debit side of this account we attempt to reconcile the amounts spent by Barbados in the world outside with the amount due by the rest of the world to Barbados. Item 6.3 shows the total amount of foreign goods and services bought by Barbadians, and item 6.4 shows to what extent this has involved the economy getting into debt with the rest of the world. The full implications of international transfers on the balance of payments are revealed in the capital reconciliation account of this sector of the economy. Imports of capital financed by foreign funds are not excluded from item 6.3 and thus are reflected in item 6.4. In the capital reconciliation account an attempt is made on the credit side to off-set the deficit or surplus on the current international budget against transfers of capital from the rest of the world to Barbados. This is the sum of items 6.5, 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8. The resultant position indicates the net change of indebtedness between the Barbadian economy and the rest of the world.

PART V.

RECONCILIATION AND CONCLUSION

The preceding analyses provide the statistical background necessary for an appraisal of the economic situation during the recent past. Some of the conclusions which may be drawn from these statistics are examined here.

One of the most striking features of the economy during the quinquennium 1949 to 1953 is the significant expansion of the gross domestic product, an increase of approximately 38 per cent for the whole period, or an average of just under 8 per cent per annum. This is partly due to a real increase in production and partly to a rise in the general level of prices.

Between 1949 and 1951 there was a tremendous expansion in sugar output, accompanied by steadily rising prices, which accounted for an increase in the value of the sugar crop by almost \$11.0 million. In the period 1951 to 1953 the volume of sugar production decreased markedly, but prices continued to rise, with the result that the value of the crop did not fall off in sympathy with the decline of production, but actually increased slightly by about \$0.7 million. The value of subsistence agricultural output remained steady from 1949 to 1952, but increased suddenly in 1953 due partly to relaxation of price control. Fishing increased markedly in the period 1951 to 1953. This was due partly to technical improvements in the fishing industry and partly to higher money incomes of the population. Manufacturing and public utilities' output increased throughout the period. The output of the distributive trades increased from 1949 to 1952 but declined in 1953. All other output showed a continuous increase throughout the whole period with the exception of building and construction which rose sharply to a peak in 1951, and then fell away markedly to 1953. The prices of several imported raw materials fell significantly in 1953, which partly accounted for a rise of the value of the domestic product in that year.

On the whole it is clear that the greater part of the expansion throughout this period occurred between 1949 and 1951 when the gross domestic product increased by about \$10.6 million. The increase of sugar production accounted for a very large share of this — about 86 per cent. In the period 1951 to 1953 the total increase was, however, considerably less — \$7.8 million. The share of sugar production in this increase was much less than before, while the expansion of subsistence agriculture, fisheries manufactures and government service was proportionately greater. Along with this, the cost of imported raw materials used up in the output of local industries was less in 1953. Physical output in this period was less than the increased value of output seems to indicate. It would thus appear that the increase of the domes-

tic product was due more to a real increase of goods and services during the period 1949 to 1951, while the effect of price increases was the major influence between 1951 and 1953.

These variations in the expansion of production have percolated throughout the economy. They have influenced the trends of incomes which, in turn, have re-acted on the levels of expenditure and savings. The trend of labour income from economic activity at home rose from about \$32.1 million in 1949 to about \$39.2 million in 1951, and then to around \$43.4 million in 1953. It was thus true to the main trend of domestic production showing a big expansion from 1949 to 1951 and then a much smaller expansion from 1951 to 1953. Total business and property incomes showed a steady expansion throughout the period. Incomes from participation in economic activity abroad showed some fluctuation, rising from 1949 to a plateau in 1951 and 1952 and falling in 1953. The two components of this item show different trends: interest and dividends have remained fairly steady, but the earnings of Barbadians temporarily employed overseas have shown a marked fluctuation, partly due to changes in their number.

It is interesting to note that about half the increase of labour incomes between 1949 to 1951 accrued to sugar industry workers, while half of the increase from 1951 to 1953 was enjoyed by service workers. Explaining these separately, it is found that since earnings in the sugar industry are related both to the size of the crop and to the prices of sugar, the tremendous increase, both in volume and value terms, of sugar production between 1949 and 1951 would have generated a big increase in the share of the national income accruing to sugar industry workers. The decline in the volume of sugar output between 1951 and 1953, on the other hand, was accompanied by rising prices for sugar which more than offset the effects of the declining volume on the value of production. The value of sugar output rose by about \$0.7 million, while the net national product rose by around \$6.7 million, and the income of sugar workers as a share of the national income fell. There was a relative gain to persons in 'service' occupations during this period, on account of significant increases in basic wage rates.

The national expenditure, by hypothesis, follows the trends of the national income and national product. But the pattern of movement of the main types of expenditure depends partly on the distribution of incomes. Since there was a significant increase in personal incomes between 1949 and 1951 one expected big increases in both consumption and savings. People were really better-off; they consumed more goods and services of a better quality and also saved more. Total personal consumption expenditure rose by about \$7.0 million or over 7 per cent, while expenditure on capital goods increased by about 55 per cent. In the period 1951 to 1953, a smaller rise of national income was accompanied by a steadily rising level of prices, and by 1953 the population was probably worse off than in 1951. The increase of consumption ex

penditure was 6 per cent, and capital expenditure fell by about 50 per cent.

In some ways the increase of production reacts on itself and causes itself to become bigger still, like a snowball rolling down a hill, through the complex mechanism of incomes and expenditure. This is called the multiplier effect. An increase in the value of sugar production and tourist expenditure gives rise to higher incomes for sugar and hotel workers who are, as a result, able to buy more goods and services. Because of the nature of the Barbadian economy with a high import propensity, this increase of purchasing power leads to greater imports which, in turn, give rise to higher incomes for workers engaged in the distribution of imports. This increase of purchasing power also stimulates local production of goods and services. Incomes increase all around as people buy more; the whole process of earnings and spendings grows in geometric progression.

In addition to sugar and tourism there are other important causes of increase in incomes, the main ones being investment, government expenditure and emigration. An increase of investment at home leads to greater employment and higher incomes for workers engaged in domestic capital formation, and also to greater imports of capital goods with consequent increase of incomes for persons engaged in distribution of imports. (If investment overseas increases, income from this source in the form of interest and dividends will also rise). An increase of government current expenditure generally takes the form of increased salaries of civil servants and wages of government employees. An increase in the flow of emigrants for temporary employment abroad has a similar influence on incomes and expenditure. Remittances from them to their relatives at home are an important element in household incomes.

Thus, it is found that the main primary factors which generate incomes in Barbados are sugar and tourism, and in addition investment, government current expenditure and emigration. This gives some clue to the intake values through which expansion flows into the economy. What causes the flow in any of these valves to increase? There is no single answer. In the sugar industry there is the interplay of rainfall, methods of cultivation, varietal yields and market prices. In tourism it is largely a matter of what attractions can be offered to tourists. Private investment depends partly on the availability of risk capital, and partly on attractive opportunities for investment. The level of government expenditure depends on its economic policy. Emigration depends largely on the presence of outlets.

The relation between the trend of the national income and the movement of prices is shown in Table 41. One needs to be cautious in comparing a limited index of retail prices with trends of indices with wider coverage. But the comparison suggests that there was a real gain in income between 1949 and 1951, and that between 1951 and 1953 there was no real increase—possibly a decline; in 1952 the national income was outstripped by retail prices and

the fall in real national income in that year may not have been wholly made good in the following year. So in spite of the technical difficulties involved, it would seem a fair conclusion that Barbadians enjoyed a temporary rise in prosperity between 1949 and 1951 which was partly or wholly reversed in the following two years. It should be borne in mind that the population was increasing steadily throughout the whole five year period, so, in 1953, the average Barbadian was probably no better off than in 1949, and may have been worse off.

TABLE 41. SOME RELATIVE CHANGES 1949 - 53

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
National income at current prices (\$ million)	53.8	58.6	67.7	69.7	74.4
Index of national income (1949-100)	100	109	125	129	138
Index of retail prices (1949-100)	100	104	117	136	137
Index of population (1949-100)	100	103	104	106	108

Account 5 in Part IV analyses the main sources of public authorities' revenue and shows the main channels of expenditure. It is interesting to note that up to 1951 the yields of direct and indirect taxation were equally important in determining the magnitude of total revenue from taxation. Since 1951 the yield of direct taxation has assumed greater importance than that of indirect taxation. The reasons would appear to be partly fiscal and administrative, and partly economic; the rate of tax on company income was increased in 1952, and from around 1951 the efficiency of tax collection seems to have increased. Profits have risen and this is reflected in the tax yield. Direct taxes levied by local government authorities have increased since 1951.

An analysis of the relationship between central government revenue yield from taxation and the distribution of households by income groups is revealing. The analysis is based on Straw's study of income and consumption patterns in Barbados, supplemented by income tax data. Straw's figures are compiled on a household basis, while the income tax figures relate to individuals. However, it would appear that the data can be related to each other at above the income level of \$2,400 a year. Above this line households with one bread-winner are the commonest. It would appear that about 5 per cent of the households fall in the income groups above this line, and 95 per cent below. Households below the line yield mainly indirect taxes, while nearly half the yield of direct taxes comes from the small group of households above the line. Total household income above the line for 1952 was \$20.5 million and the direct taxes paid amounted to \$2.4 million or about 11 per cent of total household income. About one-third of the national income accrues to these households and they contribute approximately one-third of the direct tax yield. Approximately 56 per cent of the national income is shared by the other households. The remainder accrues to business.

The distribution of households by income groups is not a hard-and-fast one but is full of border-line cases. However, the choice of an income of \$2,400 a year as a dividing line is convenient. Above this line the pattern of consumption is sharply differentiated from that below. According to Straw, in this region of income the proportion of expenditure on food falls markedly from 55 to 49 per cent, clothing increases from 10 to 12 per cent, and miscellaneous items from 18.7 to 25.7 per cent. The revenue-earning implications of such differences in the pattern of consumption are significant. Each dollar of expenditure below the line yields on the average about 5 cents in revenue; each dollar above the line yields at least 16 cents. This is because a high proportion of expenditure by low income households is on food, import duties on which average 5 per cent; high income households spend proportionately less on food and proportionately more on non-food items, import duties on which are approximately 13 per cent. Besides, high income households pay income taxes. Therefore it seems reasonable to believe that a given increase of income above this line yields more revenue than a similar increase of income below it.

The main conclusions of this study is that Barbados enjoyed a short period of rising prosperity between 1949 and 1951. Between 1951 and 1953, the national income continued to rise, but more slowly than before, and was outstripped by the index of retail prices, suggesting that the national income in real terms may well have declined after 1951. This would be consistent with the change in sugar output, and is evidence that sugar still sets the pace of the internal economy. It is also shown in this study that there are other autonomous factors which help to determine the level of the national income, e.g. tourism, capital development and migration. Even taken together these are less important than sugar.

A study of the trend of the national income in relation to the population growth is revealing. The present population density is about 1,375 persons per square mile. In an economy which is almost entirely dependent on a one-crop agriculture, which is very sensitive to rainfall trends, the occurrence of a series of low rainfall years would have disastrous effects on the standard of living even if population growth was negligible. A similar effect would also result if the prices of imports rose faster than sugar prices. But the population of Barbados is now increasing at a rate of 2 per cent per annum, which implies that a rise of real national income of at least 2 per cent per annum is required to provide for the bigger population. Even this growth of national income would not permit any rise in living standards, if the present factors of population growth remained constant, or fairly so.

The trend of national income which occurred between 1949 and 1953 suggests no ground for optimism. So long as rainfall remains the most important factor in determining the volume of sugar production there is no means for Barbados to ensure automatic development, or even stability, in the economy.

The analysis presented in this paper provides the statistical background to the economy of the island during a recent five year period. The picture tends to be somewhat blurred in the regions where the supporting data is weakest. However such a set of accounts throws some light on the size and structure of the economy, and makes it easier to assess the probable implications of alternative fiscal and economic policies.

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Population Movements in Jamaica, 1830-1950

By

G. E. CUMPER

In the early years of European settlement the British islands of the Caribbean held so important a position commercially and strategically that it would be surprising if historians had not paid considerable attention to their first settlement and early development. The decline of these islands after 1800 and their separation from the main story of American development has perhaps led to a certain neglect of their history after emancipation, and it would be easy for the general reader to conclude that the process of settlement was completed by that time. In fact the taking into cultivation of new lands continued till the end of the century, and it is the object of this paper to trace this process in the island of Jamaica.

The process of settlement cannot be thought of as a regular progression of the line between occupied and unoccupied lands across the map. There is nothing as simple as the broad movement which in North American history makes the 'advancing frontier' so attractive an image. Nevertheless in spite of its relatively small scale and of the complications introduced by the geographical and administrative separation of the islands the process has certain regularities.

In the area of the southern Caribbean now under British administration it is possible to distinguish a definite sequence of settlements. Barbados and the Leeward Islands were the first to come under British occupation, and in all these the population at first increased rapidly, then levelled off — in Barbados by 1700, in the Leewards by 1750 — at a point which represented a high degree of exploitation of the resources available.^a The Windwards came under the European aegis from the seventeenth century, but their population began to increase rapidly from the middle of the eighteenth; they were by no means fully settled at the time of emancipation (1834-38). Trinidad remained undeveloped up to the end of the eighteenth century, its population in 1800 being only slightly higher than that of Tobago. Finally, British Guiana, which must be counted as demographically part of this southern Caribbean group, holds an ambiguous place in the sequence. Under the Dutch, who began settlement there in the late sixteenth century, its population had increased by 1800 to a figure equal to that of the Leewards, but under British occupation after that date it nevertheless underwent a rapid

^aSee Table III and note.

further expansion. The basis of the population expansion to 1800 in the southern Caribbean was of course immigration, either free and European or slave and African. But besides the primary movement from Europe and Africa there were constant secondary movements within the area itself from the older settlements to the new (6). The degree of unity in the process of development throughout the area, is underestimated if the individual islands are used as units for the discussion of early economic history. It is a reflection of this unity that in spite of the irregularities of population growth in the individual territories the total population of the British territories in the southern Caribbean area showed a very uniform rate of increase in all periods from 1700 onward.

It happens that about 1800 the population of each of the older units — Barbados, the Leewards, the Windwards, and British Guiana — stood at much the same figure, around 90,000 persons. The expansion of population since 1800 can be very simply summarized by saying that the population of the Leewards has remained stable, that of Barbados has increased twofold, that of the Windwards threefold and that of British Guiana fourfold. Trinidad, with an initial figure of about 25,000 has a present population of over 600,000. It can be seen that the earliest colonies to be developed are those which have made least advance since emancipation, and it is at least a partial explanation of this that the later settled colonies had considerable reserves of unused land at the end of slavery. In spite of the considerable immigration of Indian workers into Trinidad and British Guiana, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the greater part of the population increase since 1800 has come from the excess of births over deaths among the emancipated population. The rate of this excess has been fairly uniform throughout the area, and the disparities in rates of population growth therefore imply massive migrations from unit to unit within the area — such as indeed can be established for Barbados, for instance, on direct evidence (7).

The situation in the southern Caribbean has been briefly described here as an introduction to an attempt to illustrate the changes in population distribution after emancipation in Jamaica, the remaining island of the British West Indies. It happens that the separation of the smaller islands makes them a convenient field for tracing changes in population distribution in a way which is not easily possible in an undivided territory such as Jamaica. But though the volume of migration can be estimated for these islands the paucity of easily accessible historical information makes it difficult to assess the economic and social consequences. On the other hand, Jamaica is a territory whose social and economic history since emancipation has received adequate treatment. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to relate Jamaican history in this period to what data can be made available on population distribution and land use, and to show that the process of settlement was an important element in the general economic and social history of the island

in the nineteenth century. It may be possible at a later time to attempt a similar synthesis for the remaining British Caribbean territories.

It may be as well to begin by noting briefly the physical characteristics of Jamaica. In the broadest terms the island consists of a dome of limestone overlying older rocks; this limestone has been eroded to expose the older strata at various points along the central spine of the country. The arrangement of the boundaries of the fourteen parishes into which the island is divided is such that most parishes have a similar pattern. The greater part of the parish is taken up with limestone hills aligned roughly parallel to the coast. On the seaward side the limestone passes under a strip of coastal alluvium of varying width, limited in some parishes to mere deltas but spreading out in others on the south coast into the extensive plains of Westmoreland, Clarendon and St. Catherine. The limestone hills are broken by inland alluvial valleys and basins and by inliers of older rocks exposed by erosion. The limestone gives rise rather uniformly to soils which are red or reddish brown, acid and comparatively infertile. The older strata give rise to soils which vary according to the basic formation but are generally darker, heavier and more fertile than those arising from the limestone. Very broadly, therefore, the succession of soils as one passes from the sea to the centre of the island is from alluvium through poor red or brown soil to darker and usually richer soils.

The pattern of rainfall tends to be concentric, with levels of 70-100 inches a year over the central hills falling off to about 40 inches a year round the coast and to less than 35 inches in the extreme south of Clarendon and St. Catherine. In addition, the prevailing winds being from the northeast or southeast, rainfall on the north coast tends to fall off from east to west, so that the coast of Portland receives over 100 inches while that of St. James and Trelawny receives less than 50. There are two seasonal maxima, one in April-June and the more marked in September-November, both being of importance to agriculture.

Most of the surface of Jamaica is naturally difficult to traverse, the main exception being the coastal plains. The white limestone where it has weathered into the steep-sided 'cockpits' is still regarded as impassable, but even elsewhere it presents steep and broken hills which formed a serious obstacle to the transport of heavy goods in the nineteenth century. The inliers of older rock present in many cases less difficulty to transport within their limits, but they are often barred from the coast by the limestone ranges.

The principal economic form in Jamaica was for a century and a half the plantation based on negro slavery. In 1831 it appears from the returns of slaves published in the Jamaica Almanac (5) that properties with more than a hundred slaves accounted for more than half the slave population, the

proportion varying from 37 per cent in the old parish of St. Catherine^a to 84 per cent in Trelawny, but lying generally between 60 and 75 per cent.

In many of its features the plantation system was a product of the period in which a small number of European countries had come into possession of areas of tropical land in which the existing level of population density and land use was far below the metropolitan level. One aspect of the system was its effectiveness as a means by which population could be introduced into these vacant areas to serve as an instrument of economic exploitation of the land without establishing more than very limited social and economic claims to the values produced on the part of any save the original European appropriators and their successors; the form of the introduction and exploitation being influenced by the oligarchic nature of the metropolitan societies and the high though variable prices ruling in the markets for tropical produce.

The situation in Jamaica at the end of slavery had developed beyond the limits of this elementary conception of the plantation as a mode of economic exploitation. In the first place, the development of the tropical sugar-producing territories had proceeded to a point where except in periods of artificial scarcity induced by the political divisions of war time the marginal rate of return on capital in the old sugar colonies like Jamaica had fallen below that obtainable from investment in newer areas or in the industrial opportunities opened up by technical advance in the metropolitan countries; hence the tendency of British investors and merchant houses was to withdraw capital and political support from the West Indies.

In the second place, there had been a tendency from the beginning, intensified by the withdrawal of British capital, for the society of Jamaica, nominally an outpost of that of England, to develop its own values and institutions under which the slave population was related to the slave owners in ways not envisaged under English law or custom; while at the same time there developed between slave and slave, and between slave and free man, economic and social bonds which in sum amounted to the creation of a distinct Jamaican society.

Just as the dominant economic form was the slave plantation, so in the later days of slavery the dominant type of plantation was that which represented this form at its most elaborate, the sugar estate. The accepted technology of sugar production at that date tended to produce a concentration of estates in the areas fulfilling certain conditions. Among these conditions were the following: that the soil should be suitable for hand cultivation — light, though fertile — and should be well drained, so that large numbers of men and stock could enter the fields at harvest; that the annual rainfall should be sufficient and regular, with a dry season in the first three months of the year, to permit harvesting; that the land should be level enough to allow the laying out of continuous areas of cane of 100 acres or more, with

^aAt that date one of four parishes occupying the area of the present parish of the same name.

good communication between the fields and the mill; that there should be available, if possible, a source of water power for the mill, and at least a supply of water for use during the milling process; and that good communications should exist from the mill to a port or barquadier on the sea coast. It must be borne in mind that the use of irrigation (which is now important in the southern plains of St. Catherine and Clarendon) was then very limited. Given this, the above conditions tended to produce a concentration on the alluvial areas, and particularly on the inland alluvial valleys and basins, and along the juncture of the limestone hills with the plains, where rainfall was heavier than in the extreme south.

A number of industries existed outside the sugar estate system. Of these one, cattle breeding, was connected with sugar production in that the estates were the main purchasers of cattle for working stock, as they were also of mules and to a less extent riding horses. The distribution of 'pens' or stock breeding properties therefore overlapped with that of the estates but extended further into the hills. Other primary industries existed independently of sugar, for example, coffee, another crop conferring high social esteem. The main coffee properties were located in an area determined by soil and rainfall factors on the southern, and to a less extent on the northern slopes of the Blue Mountains. For this reason, and also as a site for upper class residences removed from the heat of the plains, the hinterland of St. Andrew parish was relatively well settled from early times. Other crops such as ginger, pimento and annatto employed a small proportion of the population.

Of the secondary and tertiary production of the island the greater part was carried on either within the estate system (since each plantation carried a body of skilled tradesmen) or in the towns, which were located mainly in sugar areas; the general effect being to reinforce the concentration in these areas.

This *a priori* view of the population distribution under slavery can be confirmed by plotting the distribution of population in 1831 as given, property by property, in the slave returns.^a This is possible because of the persistence to the present time of the original property names. It has been done approximately for three parishes, and the density of population on each of the main soil types has been calculated.

Within the present limits of St. Catherine parish the average density appears to have been 67 persons to the square mile. The highest densities were found in the inland alluvial valleys of Lluidas Vale and Guanaboa Vale, and the next highest in the inland basin of St. Thomas in the Vale, where the soil is a mixture of marl and alluvium. Close after this came two large inliers of older rocks in St. John and around Harker's Hall. The potentially fertile, but dry, southern plains, with their large sugar and cattle properties, showed a density of only 70 per square mile, with much of the population along the

^aSee Table II and note.

lower course of the Rio Cobre. Finally, the white limestone hills were extremely sparsely inhabited.

Incidentally, the low density of population on the plains, in comparison with the inland alluvial valleys whose economy was equally based on the estate cultivation of sugar, shows that at this time the plains were not a particularly favourable *milieu* for sugar growing, and indeed it was known that losses from drought there were heavy.

St. Catherine was in some ways an exceptional parish. The first to be settled by the English, it was by 1830 the centre of the island's communication system and included a relatively large urban element. Westmoreland was more typically a sugar parish. Here the plains, which are relatively well watered, carried a resident population of 160 to the square mile, against 50 on the inliers of shales and other older formation and 30 on the limestone. There was a small concentration of population at the port of Savanna la Mar, which was reported in 1831 to have 60 to 70 houses, or perhaps 500 inhabitants, but the rest of the parish was organized on the estate basis.

The parish of Portland takes in the northern flank of the Blue Mountains, and this area was in 1830 little explored, and, apart from the Maroon settlements, almost unpopulated. The population was concentrated in the narrow coastal strips of alluvium, in the valleys formed along the river courses between the northern range of limestone hills and the Blue Mountains, and in a small area of the east coast. The limestone hills show a moderate density here of 60 persons to the square mile.

The situation in these three parishes can be summarized by saying that of the two types of area easily accessible from the coast, the limestone hills show a uniformly lower density of population than the alluvial plains and valleys. The values of each from parish to parish correlate with the rainfall, being highest in Portland and lowest in St. Catherine. The soils arising from older formations show low to medium values, depending at least partly on their accessibility. The three parishes examined had an aggregate population in 1831 of about 75,000; of these 38,000 were resident on the plains and in the alluvial valleys, which made up only one fifth of the total area, while another 6,000 were in towns located in the alluvial areas.

While, therefore, the greater part of the island had been explored by the end of slavery, there were large areas of the interior which were very sparsely settled. It was these areas which provided the hunting grounds of the Maroons and permitted communication between their settlements from Bath in the east to the hills of Westmoreland. The pattern of settlement indicated above resulted in particularly low population figures for the parish of St. Elizabeth, where the alluvial area of the lower Black River was taken up by the Great Morass, while most of the rest of the parish was occupied by the limestone plateau which extends also eastward into Manchester. Thus while at the end of slavery there was no sharp line between the settled land and the rest,

there was a marked concentration in those areas which were suitable for plantation production and a neglect of the lands of the interior, which can be seen in the light of later events to have been capable of supporting an at least equally dense population.

This picture is somewhat modified, it is true, if we consider not where the people were resident but whence they drew their subsistence. Jamaica had carried to a high pitch the system by which the slaves grew a large part of their food on individual provision grounds, receiving from their employer an allowance mainly of foods like salt fish which they could not produce themselves. The proportion of estates on which this practice prevailed in its full form is hard to assess, but in some parts of the island — for example, Westmoreland parish — there was no estate which did not have its 'mountain', a piece of hill land, possibly separated from the body of the estate by several miles, where wood could be cut and the slave allotments laid out; and after emancipation the word 'mountain' was long used to mean a small farmer's provision ground.

The provision ground system was of considerable economic and social significance. In the first place, the produce of these grounds (and of the house plots, which often carried food trees) often exceeded the needs of the slave's own subsistence, and from the exchange of the resulting surplus sprang an internal market which played its part in the establishment of a partly independent Jamaican economy and society.

In the second place, the provision grounds reduced the labour costs of the estate and greatly increased the stability of the system in the years of difficulty after 1815. One might almost say that the estate system contained two sectors, one devoted to sugar production and the other to the growing of provisions; the one vulnerable to a fall in sugar prices, the other not. If it were possible to evaluate the two sectors separately, by assigning an economic price to the labour made available to the estate by the slave and to the land made available to the slave by the estate, it might well appear that on the less favourably situated estates the return per unit of land or labour was higher in the provision sector than in the sugar sector. There were, for example, estates where 400 man days of labour were needed to produce a ton of sugar and half a puncheon of rum whose aggregate value would not be more than £35 sterling — an uneconomic proposition at the level of wages paid for the 'jobbing gangs' of slave days or at the level prevailing in the 1840's.

If, however, the 'mountains' helped to provide short-term economic stability, they did this at the price of an increase in the geographical, social and economic area within which the slave could act independently. The slave who grew his own food under minimal supervision and marketed the surplus was clearly differently circumstanced from him who knew no possessions save his hut or barracks, and depended wholly on the allowances from his

employer. Further the 'mountain' formed an outpost of the plantation thrust into the unpoliced interior, and thus pointed the way to the exploitation of that interior; it may also have formed a point of contact with the African culture of the Maroons.^a

The area of agricultural exploitation at the end of slavery was therefore somewhat wider than the area of resident settlement. But the 'mountains' did not extend more than a few miles from the plantation areas, and the concentration on the coastlands and valleys was not greatly modified.

This pattern of settlement was maintained by the restraints of slavery, and the emancipation of the slaves (in 1834-8) brought considerable changes. The events of the years immediately following emancipation have been treated by a number of writers, most recently by Curtin (1), and it is not necessary here to do more than note the trends which bear directly on the distribution of the population. The principal of these is the exodus of a part of the estate population to form an independent peasantry, settled mainly, it would appear, on marginal land within the estate system which was either sold out or abandoned under the economic pressures of the 1840's. In a sense, this movement represented an expansion of the provision sector of the traditional economy on a new social base, with a corresponding decline of the sugar sector and of the towns which had catered to the needs of the old system.

It is not possible, unfortunately, to trace the effects of this movement in terms of changes in the population of the soil type areas mentioned earlier, but some light is thrown on it by the change in the populations of the parishes between 1831 and 1871. The latter date is the first census year after the crisis of 1865, and therefore forms a convenient landmark. The population figures used for 1831 are based on the slave returns given in the Jamaica Almanac for 1832 (5), with the parish boundaries adjusted to be comparable with the later censuses. They include slaves and an estimate of slave owners and estate personnel. The total population on this basis is less than the accepted estimate for the time, but as the object is inter-parish comparisons it does not seem necessary to attempt further adjustment, any bias being presumably fairly constant from parish to parish.

The average arithmetical rate of increase of the population of the island between 1831 and 1871 was 1.1 per cent per annum. This increase was very unevenly distributed, and the inequalities in rates of increase are so great that they can hardly be accounted for in terms of differences in natural increase (even allowing for a differential incidence of death from the cholera and small pox epidemic of the 1850's), or of the slight external emigration of the period, but must represent a considerable internal migration. The most rapid increase took place in the parish of St. Elizabeth, closely followed by the

^aThe African — mainly Ashanti — nature of the Maroon culture at this time can be established easily enough from Dallas' *History of the Maroons* (3), and other contemporary sources.

neighbouring parishes of Westmoreland and Manchester, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this increase represents a development of the formerly thinly settled limestone plateaux of this part of the island, which were emphatically not sugar country. At the other extreme, the high-rainfall sugar areas of the north coast showed very slight increases. The population of Portland, for example, increased by only 8 per cent in forty years. The sugar industry of this parish was already in decline before emancipation, but the decline was accelerated after 1838. It may be noted that in the neighbouring parish of St. Mary, the sugar crop of 1832 was estimated as 8,440 hogsheads, which implies an acreage under sugar alone of about 12,000, whereas the total area in cultivation in the parish in 1881 was according to the official returns only 5,379 acres. Kingston, too, hardly increased its population over the period, and the economic stagnation of this city and of Spanish Town is amply attested (1).

These figures confirm, therefore, that a major redistribution of population between parishes took place in the post-emancipation period, and it is clear that there was also a considerable shift within parishes away from the traditional areas of settlement. This has a certain bearing on the tensions which led to the crisis of 1865, since so large a shift created a need for governmental action in many fields, particularly the provision of roads and the creation of a system of title to lands adapted to the new situation. The traditional communication network of the island was fitted only to the pattern of peripheral settlement of slavery times, and needed extension to serve the new peasant communities; but in fact under the administration of the vestries, organs of local government based socially and economically on the plantations, the efficiency of even the existing system declined. The old system of land title was well enough adapted to the transmission of large parcels of land as units, but not to the process of fragmentation which took place after emancipation, particularly with the added complication of heavy mortgages of various ranks and of the practice of squatting on effectively abandoned land. The deficiencies of the land law were particularly important in view of the fact that its administration fell to the local magistrates, often planters in fact and usually planters in sympathy, who interpreted it according to the narrowest interests of their class. Grounds have been given elsewhere (2) for supposing that such factors as these effectively limited the further expansion of peasant settlement from 1850 onward, and such a restraint, in view of the steady increase of the peasant population, provides a partial explanation of the tensions which led to the disturbances of 1865.

The political events of 1865, with the abdication of the old House of Assembly and the institution of Crown Colony government, need not be detailed here; nor need the constitutional implications of the new system in its successive forms (9). The economic content of the legislation introduced in the early years of Crown Colony government has, however, a direct bearing

on the question of settlement. During this period a system of registration of titles was established, an Encumbered Estates Court set up, large areas of abandoned land were brought under the Crown and Crown lands were made available to the small settler; while a new road and rail system began to break down the barriers between different areas within the island and between the small settler and his point of contact with the export market. The period of reform which began in 1866 favoured the further expansion of the peasantry, which in the following half century increased greatly in numbers and prosperity.

The characteristic product of the small and medium farmer in this period was the banana, which began to be exported from the north coast about 1869 and by 1900 came to surpass in value the exports of the declining sugar industry. Unlike the traditional export crops, sugar and coffee, bananas are cultivable on most of the soils of Jamaica. The easily erodible limestone hills are not particularly suitable for them but they have nevertheless been grown there profitably by the small cultivator. Two conditions restricted their spread at first — the need for prompt shipping when the fruit had been cut and for adequate water supply. The coming of the railway through the centre of the island, and later of motor transport, made the first condition less and less restrictive; while the irrigation of the southern plains from 1870 onward threw open the main areas from which banana cultivation had been barred by the second condition. Bananas were an ideal crop for the small man, simple to cultivate (at least until the spread of leafspot disease made regular spraying necessary) and yielding a quick cash profit.

The banana industry was at first confined to the adjacent parishes of Portland and St. Mary, which the rapid decay of the estate system had left as pre-eminently the area of the small farmer (*I*, p.111). The census report of 1871, for instance, gave 6,000 growers of ground provisions in Portland, against only 4,000 labourers. The industry spread later to other parishes, but the expansion of small farming preceded it and shows that the banana was not the sole basis of the peasantry; besides other export crops such as ginger and pimento, there were foodstuffs for local consumption, the aggregate value of which probably exceeded that of all export crops, as it does today.

The magnitude and direction of the agricultural expansion of the half century following 1865 can be sufficiently demonstrated from official statistics. Between 1880 and 1911 the area under cultivation in the island increased from 108,000 acres to 273,000 acres, the number of holdings between 5 and 50 acres doubling even between 1880 and 1902. The cultivated area increased most markedly in the banana parishes of Portland and St. Mary — from 10,000 acres in 1880 to 68,000 acres in 1911. The population of these parishes increased correspondingly, doubling itself between 1871 and 1911 while the population of the whole island increased by 60 per cent.^a

^aThis increase of the island's population took place in spite of heavy external emigration. The extent and direction of this emigration, and its connection with the export trade in bananas, are treated by Roberts (8).

The heyday of the small farmer in Jamaica was roughly from 1900 to 1920, and it was this period which influenced Olivier in his picture of Jamaica as a peasant society. But this period also marks the end of the expansion of cultivation onto vacant or nearly vacant land. After 1911 there is a continued increase in the number of agricultural holdings and the area of land under cultivation. But the number of holdings from this point on increases more and more through the fragmentation of existing small and medium sized farms, rather than through the establishment of new farms on unexploited land. The increase in the area under cultivation, on the other hand, is associated with more intensive use of the land on large estates and with the rise of the sugar industry. In 1911 the area under cane was only about 25,000 acres (4); by 1950 it had risen to about 100,000 acres. This represented a net addition to the exploitable area of the island only in so far as it was produced by the reclamation of swamp land, for example in Westmoreland and St. Catherine. By 1950 sugar was re-established as the major export industry, but not, as formerly, an industry dominating the economy of the island; and bananas continued until the 1930's to provide half or more of the value of Jamaican exports. Banana production in the original parishes of Portland and St. Mary began to be hampered by plant disease, and these parishes began to lose population, though the industry continued to expand into other parishes. After 1930, indeed, the hold of Panama disease in Portland was so strong that precautionary measures were abandoned as hopeless and the island's production was only maintained by the shifting of the industry on to new and perhaps less suitable soils.

That the expansion of the demand for labour in agriculture had reached a limit about the turn of the century is confirmed by the occupational data given at successive censuses. The agricultural population has presented difficulties of classification which make the figures not easy to disentangle, but it appears clear, at least, that after 1911 the number of persons attached to specific forms of agriculture such as cane growing and penkeeping was stable at about 75,000 persons. There is a further group of general workers who include small cultivators, farm labourers, general labourers in agricultural parishes and unpaid workers on family farms. In the Jamaican context, where many rural workers belong to more than one category during the year, the boundaries between these are not easy to establish and assessment of the change from census to census must be a matter of judgment. It seems probable that this group as a whole increased much more slowly after 1911 than in the period from 1871 to 1911, and that the increase was among the labourers rather than the small cultivators.

The counterpart of the relative stability of agriculture after 1911 was an increase in the non-agricultural population, and particularly in the urban area of Kingston and St. Andrew. Kingston had been since the early days of English occupation the commercial capital of the island, with the handling

of the exports and imports of the producing and consuming population as its basic functions. In the days of slavery this function had brought it no great pre-eminence over the administrative capital, Spanish Town, perhaps because so large a proportion of the exports, and some of the imports, of the island went through the minor ports. Its stagnation in the period immediately after emancipation has already been noted; the plantation system was in decline, while the needs of the peasantry were met mainly by subsistence production — not unnaturally, in view of the high duties on staples — and their export production was small. In the early years of Crown Colony government, however, Kingston became the administrative capital, the terminus of the railroad, the focus of an improved road system and the channel of export for the export production of the not unimportant minor crops of the small farmer. Its population now began to increase somewhat more rapidly than that of the rest of the island.

The most marked expansion, bringing the city population up to its present level of 300,000, began in the 1920's. It was based on certain positive factors — the advent of motor transport brought a further centralization of the island's communications, with a further decline in the trade of the outports — but also, no doubt, on the inability of agriculture to absorb the growing population, which was increasing at about 1½ per cent per year. This increase was accelerated by an inflow of returned emigrants in the depression years — the official records of migration show a net immigration of 28,000 in 1928-34 — many of whom settled in Kingston. Until the disturbances of 1938 there was little factory industry; Kingston, which had by then overflowed the limits of the old parish and included parts of St. Andrew, was still mainly a provider of services, not a manufacturer of goods.

The changes in population distribution in this period can be most directly illustrated by certain data derived from the census of 1943 on parish of birth and of residence of the population. These data can be manipulated to give the number of survivors in 1943 of the net movement between parishes, or groups of parishes, in each five year period from 1923 onward, and for an open-ended interval before that date; and these, in turn, can be translated by applying approximate survival rates into estimates of the actual net movement in each period. The parishes fall into four very roughly delimited groups — the two original banana parishes, Portland and St. Mary; the sugar parishes of the south coast (Westmoreland, Clarendon, St. Catherine and St. Thomas); the urban parishes of Kingston, St. Andrew and the partly urban parishes of St. James (which includes Montego Bay); and a residual group which can be characterized very roughly as general farming parishes, with an increasing emphasis on banana production.

At the beginning of the period covered by these figures — roughly, around 1911 — the urban parishes were gaining about 1,000 persons a year from internal migration, while the general farming parishes were losing about the

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same number. The sugar and banana parishes were about in balance, gaining as many persons by migration from the general farming parishes as they lost to the urban area. The situation changes steadily until in the five year period from 1939 to 1943 the urban parishes were gaining about 7,000 persons a year, in roughly equal proportions from the other three groups. Of the purely rural groups, at the beginning of the period the banana parishes were gaining population from the sugar parishes, and both from the general farming parishes. At the end of the period, the sugar parishes were gaining population from the other two, a reflection no doubt of the expansion of the sugar industry. The volume of gross migration between parishes within the groups, which presumably reflects mainly the increasing general mobility within the island independently of the shifts in importance between the groups, shows a steady upward trend. All these trends are consistent and not likely to be invalidated by the possible errors in the method of estimation.

By 1943, therefore, the process of settlement had reached a stage where further developments were taking the form not of an extension of the settled area but of an intensification of the use of the land already appropriated and of the growth of urban concentration. That this implied considerable movements between parishes has already been shown. That re-distribution within parishes had taken place since 1831 can be demonstrated, though not unfortunately for any subdivisions of the period, by relating the 1943 census data with the soil types already mentioned.

In the three parishes for which calculations have been made, the alluvial areas, the most thickly populated in 1831, show only a moderate increase in population—from 142 to 246 persons per square mile overall, with the inland valleys actually showing a decline. The limestone hills, on the other hand, show a striking increase from 31 to 186 persons per square mile. In part this is to be interpreted as a shift in residence, rather than a shift in exploitation, since in 1831 much of the slave population of the plains drew its subsistence from provision grounds in the hills, while in 1943 many of those living in the hills worked on the plains.

If, however, the plains and limestone hills are taken together as one unit they still show an overall increase less than that of the remaining areas, where the population density increased between 1831 and 1943 from 53 to 246 persons per square mile. This is particularly striking in view of the fact that it includes the northern slope of the Blue Mountains in Portland parish, which is still thinly populated because of its inaccessibility and very heavy rainfall. In St. Catherine the density on the central inlier of older rock is 525 persons per square mile, and higher values are found in some areas even though these include no towns or industries other than agriculture and are not apparently dependent on outside wage work to any significant extent. It must be allowed that the system of peasant agriculture in Jamaica, in spite of

having no great claim to technical efficiency, has in practice enabled the land to support surprisingly high densities of population.

In summary, therefore, the history of the British settlement of Jamaica may be seen in two main stages; first, the exploitation, under the slave regime, of those lands most suited to the purposes of the sugar economy, reaching a limit about 1800 and beginning to retreat thereafter; and second, the exploitation, under freedom, of the rest of the island up to the present limits of cultivation. The post-emancipation movement took place in two steps; first the removal of the estate population to the neighbouring hill areas which were already partly cultivated under the provision ground system; and then the exploitation of the interior beyond these limits. After 1911 there is little further land for settlement, and the currents of internal migration set toward Kingston.

The strains which led up to the outburst of 1938 should be seen against this background for their significance to be fully realized. The shift from extensive to intensive agricultural exploitation and the trend to urbanization had implications for the working-class Jamaican which were more than narrowly economic. Both the small farm and the plantation of the late nineteenth century had been highly developed social units which, though they often provided small incomes, yet compensated for this by a disproportionately high degree of security. The large new plantations were by comparison 'proletarianized', and life in the city was insecure, particularly in the early years of the urban expansion, when even such amenities as sewers and police patrols were lacking in the new working-class suburbs. The government which faced these problems was administratively much superior to that which had failed in 1865, but it was hampered in its attempts to deal with these half-realized tensions by the powerful representation it gave to local conservative interests, including merchants who objected both on principle and interest to any extension of government responsibility for and expenditure on working class welfare.

The relevance of urbanization, 'proletarianization' and the substitution of intensive for extensive development of agriculture to the crisis of 1938 is confirmed by the nature of the political and institutional developments since that date, many of which have been aimed either at increasing the security of the wage worker (through trade unions, relief employment and labour legislation), expanding urban incomes (through the encouragement of urban industries) or intensifying the exploitation of the existing land (expanded agricultural research and extension schemes, land settlements).

It does not appear that the last decade has seen any change in the population trends which were already in evidence in 1943. Preliminary estimates from the sample survey of population carried out in 1954 suggest that the flow of migration to Kingston and St. Andrew has been maintained and possibly increased, though part of this movement may represent a first stage

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in migration to the United Kingdom; there is currently a net emigration from the island of about 20,000 persons a year. Common observation suggests that the population of many smaller towns has also increased notably. No new areas have been opened to settlement, though reclamation of coastal swamps continues, and the exploitation of the island's mineral resources has begun with the mining of bauxite and gypsum, and prospects of exploiting petroleum and iron ore deposits. It is significant that factory industry is coming to play a larger part in the economy, partly owing to a deliberate policy of fostering local enterprises and excluding the corresponding foreign products, and Kingston in particular now has a considerable economic base in secondary industry.

Summary

The settlement of the Caribbean islands now under British control, begun in the seventeenth century, was not completed at the time of the slave emancipation of 1838, but continued in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its progress in Jamaica in the later period can be traced in sufficient detail to throw some light on the general history of the island, and in particular on the crises of 1865 and 1938. The first is connected with a temporary check to the movement of small settlers into the unexploited areas of the island, which provided the dynamic of the Jamaican economy to about 1911. After this date the process of settlement can be regarded as complete, and the economy expands through an intensification of the use of the land already settled and the growth of an urban concentration in Kingston. The tensions of this later phase underlie the crisis of 1938.

TABLE I. POPULATION OF JAMAICA BY PARISHES, 1831, 1871, 1911 AND 1943, AND AVERAGE ANNUAL RATES OF INCREASE

('000)

Parish	*	Population			Average annual increase % :		
	1831	1871	1911	1943	1831-71	1871-1911	1911-43
Kingston	(33.0)	34.3	59.7	110.1	0.10	1.84	2.64
St. Andrew	21.5	31.7	52.8	128.1	1.19	1.67	4.46
St. James	24.0	29.3	41.4	63.5	0.56	1.03	1.60
St. Catherine	34.0	54.0	88.1	121.0	1.47	1.58	1.17
Clarendon	26.1	42.7	73.9	123.5	1.59	1.82	2.10
Westmoreland	21.0	40.8	66.5	90.1	2.36	1.57	1.11
St. Thomas	27.7	32.7	39.3	60.7	0.45	0.51	1.69
Portland	23.4	25.3	49.4	60.7	0.20	2.38	0.72
St. Mary	26.9	36.5	73.0	90.9	0.89	2.50	0.77
St. Ann	27.2	39.5	70.7	96.2	1.13	1.96	1.13
Trelawny	26.7	28.8	35.5	47.5	0.20	0.58	1.06
Hanover	22.7	26.3	37.4	51.7	0.39	1.06	1.18
Manchester	18.9	38.9	65.2	92.7	2.64	1.69	1.32
St. Elizabeth	16.4	45.2	78.7	100.2	4.41	1.85	0.85
Total	349.5	506.2	831.4	1237.1	1.12	1.60	1.49

* Estimate based on slave registrations (see note on tables).

Sources:

Jamaica Almanac 1832.

Census of Jamaica, 1943. Govt. Printer, Kingston.

TABLE II. POPULATION DENSITY BY GEOLOGICAL AREAS, FOR THREE PARISHES, 1831 AND 1943.

	Area (Sq. miles)	Population density (persons per sq. mile) :			
		Westmoreland	St. Catherine	Portland	3 Parishes combined
1831					
Alluvium	257.2	157	99	411	142
White Limestone	543.9	32	15	65	31
Alluvium and Limestone	801.1	69	49	116	67
Other formations	287.0	52	115	30	53
1943					
Alluvium		244	210	525	246
White Limestone		253	150	159	186
Alluvium and Limestone		250	174	213	205
Other formations		306	525	132	246

Sources:

Jamaica Almanac 1832.

Census of Jamaica, 1943.

Geology of Jamaica, Sawkins, 1865.

Handbook of Jamaica, 1954. Govt. Printer, Kingston.

TABLE III. DISTRIBUTION OF LAND HOLDINGS BY SIZE, JAMAICA, 1882, 1902 AND 1943.

Size of holding (acres):	Number of holders			Acreage in cultivation		Total Acreage	
	1882	1902	1943	1882	1943	1882	1943
Under 5	38,838	108,943	179,788	39,127	(106,452)*	83,740	(163,648)*
5 and under 50	13,674	24,226	30,406	24,064	124,426	203,976	376,894
50 and under 500	1,761	2,357	1,954	12,170	40,858	303,837	258,629
500 and over	895	830	540	46,692	160,078	1,197,593	1,067,497

Data for 1882 and 1902 refer to land holders; data for 1943 refer to 'farms'.

*Partly estimated.

Sources:

Handbook of Jamaica, 1884, 1904. Govt. Printer, Kingston.

Census of Jamaica, 1943. Govt. Printer, Kingston.

TABLE IV. ACREAGE IN CULTIVATION, BY PARISHES, 1880-1943.

Parish	'000 acres			
	1880	1911	1933	1943*
St. Andrew	8.5	12.4	12.8	17.4
St. James	(6.3)	12.9	20.6	20.7
St. Catherine	16.9	45.4	34.9	45.9
Clarendon	12.3	25.5	37.3	57.0
Westmoreland	10.1	13.8	21.4	27.3
St. Thomas	9.5	20.2	31.0	45.7
Portland	4.3	21.4	21.1	32.1
St. Mary	5.4	47.0	48.3	54.7
St. Ann	7.0	10.2	25.7	36.3
Trelawny	8.3	12.3	35.9	21.4
Hanover	5.3	12.6	15.6	20.2
Manchester	9.8	16.0	19.6	22.7
St. Elizabeth	8.4	12.4	19.8	27.7
Total, Jamaica	107.9	273.5	344.0	431.8

*Acreage in cultivation on 'farms' plus estimated acreage on smaller holdings (estimated at one-third of an acre in cultivation per holding).

Sources:

Handbook of Jamaica, 1881, 1912, 1939. Govt. Printer, Kingston.

Census of Jamaica, 1943. Govt. Printer, Kingston.

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Note on Tables I-IV and on Figures 1 and 2

Figure I is based on the collection of population estimates for the various territories of the British Caribbean given in the census reports from Jamaica (1943) and the rest of the British West Indies (1946). From roughly 1861 onward the figures are based on regularly conducted censuses and can be accepted as accurate. Before this date the estimates are drawn from various sources, official and unofficial, and the accuracy of any individual figure can reasonably be questioned. A detailed examination of the figures shows, however, that they are far from being entirely arbitrary. It would be unwise to rely on these estimates to establish short-term fluctuations in population, except where such fluctuations are independently confirmed. But over longer periods the trend of population growth can be ascertained.

In order to permit the aggregation of the population estimates for individual territories into totals for broader areas the crude estimates for each territory have been plotted and linear interpolations made at the century and half-century marks and at 1830 and 1920. These interpolated estimates have been added for the various territories of the Leeward Islands to give the results shown as 'Leewards' in the first part of Figure 1, and for the Windward Islands together with Tobago to give the results shown as 'Windwards'. The interpolated estimates for Trinidad (excluding Tobago), British Guiana, the Windwards, Barbados and the Leewards have been aggregated and are compared in the second part of Figure 1 with the series of estimates of Jamaican population brought together in the census report of 1943.

In Table I the population of Jamaica is shown by parishes for 1831, 1871, 1911 and 1943. The figures for 1871, 1911 and 1943 are taken directly from the census reports for 1943 and require no comment. The estimates for 1831 are based on the slave registration data as reproduced in the Jamaica Almanac of 1832. Two problems arose in connection with these estimates. The first arises from the fact that the registrations make no allowance for the free white and coloured population of the island. The number of these has been estimated on the assumption that there existed one free slave-owner for each group of slaves shown separately in the returns, and that on the larger properties there was one free person for each 50 slaves. An adjustment has been made to allow for the contemporary estimates of the number of free persons in Kingston. The resulting total population, slave and free, is somewhat less than is consonant with other, contemporary estimates (which would give a figure for 1831 of about 360,000), but since the main purpose of the present estimate is to show the relative distribution between parishes it has not seemed worth while to attempt further adjustment.

The second problem arises from the changes in parish boundaries between 1831 and 1871. Where the change involved the amalgamation of neighbouring parishes or the transfer from one parish to another of a district shown

separately in the registrations no great difficulty arises. In other cases it has been necessary to trace the change in boundaries on the available maps and to attempt to locate those properties mentioned in the registrations which fall within the area affected by the change. The figures given in Table I have been corrected to conform to the present parish boundaries, so far as possible.

The average annual increase per cent is shown for the periods 1831-71, 1871-1911 and 1911-1943. It is calculated on the formula

$$r = \frac{(P_1 - P_0)}{P_0} \cdot \frac{100}{N}$$

where P_0 , P_1 , are the populations at beginning and end of the period and N is the length of the period in years. This average gives results somewhat higher than the geometric rate of increase, which may easily be calculated from the same data, and reflects the relative rates of increase from parish to parish as adequately as does the more complicated formula.

Note 2

What has been said above of the method of estimating the population distribution by parishes in 1831 will indicate also the problems involved in Table II, which gives for three parishes the approximate population densities on three geological formations. For this table it was first necessary to divide the parishes covered into geological areas. In the case of Westmoreland use

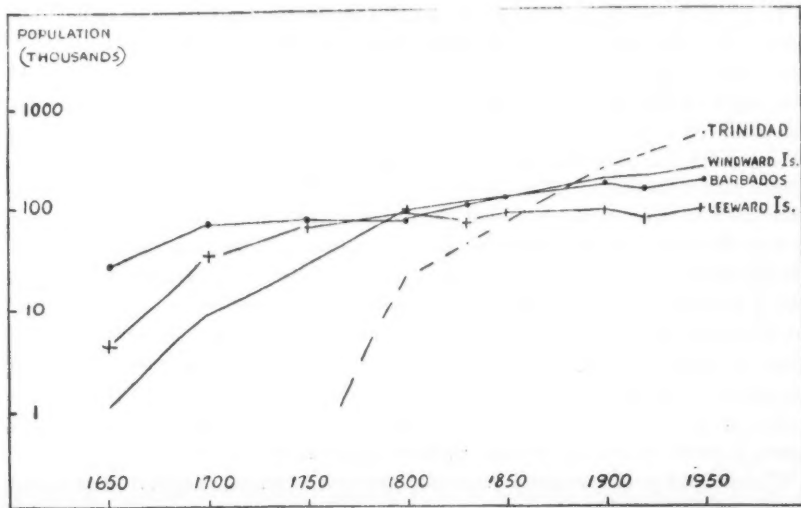


Figure 1 a. Population of the British Islands in the Eastern Caribbean, 1650-1950.

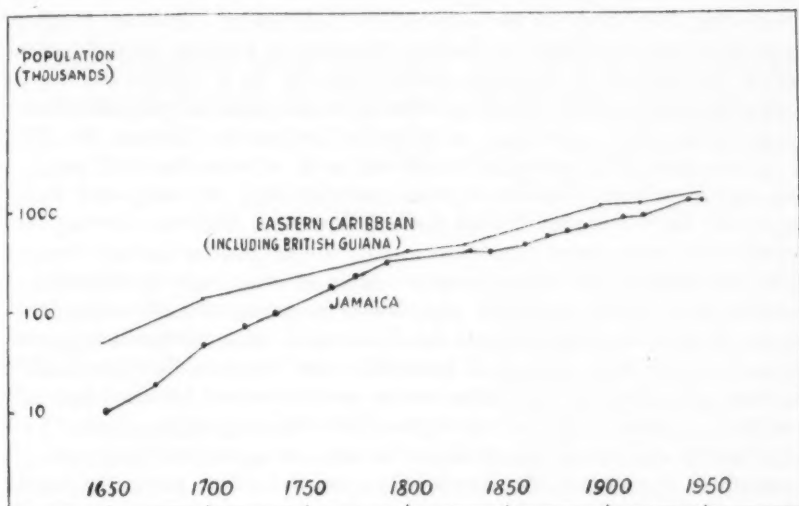


Figure 1b. Population of the British Territories of the Eastern Caribbean (including British Guiana) and of Jamaica, 1650-1950.

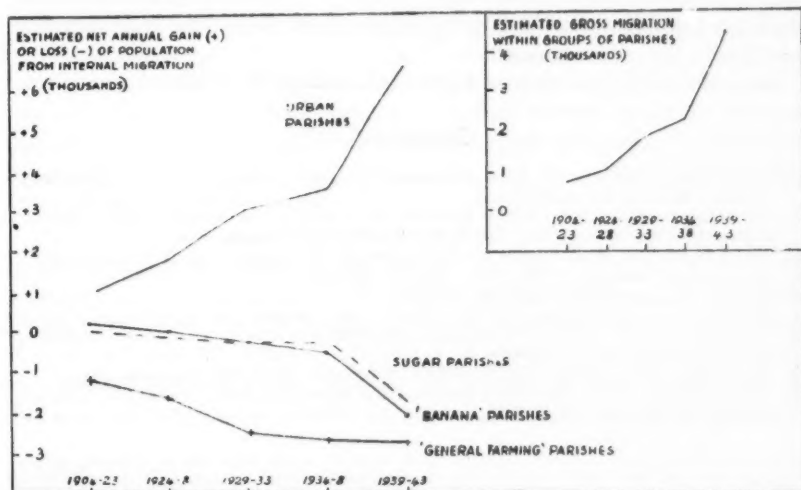


Figure 2. Estimated Net Internal Migration, Jamaica, 1904-43.

was made of a soil type map supplied by Peter M. Stern of the Conservation Foundation, New York. In the cases of St. Catherine and Portland rougher maps were prepared based on Sawkins 'Geology of Jamaica' revised in the light of the summary of Jamaican geology given by W. A. Zans in the Handbook of Jamaica for 1954. It was possible to locate almost all properties mentioned in the slave registrations as given in the Jamaica Almanac for 1832 in one or other of the geological areas, and so to calculate the total populations and population densities in these areas in 1831. By comparing these maps with those compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics showing the population of each census sub-district in 1943 it was possible to obtain similar totals and densities for 1943. A certain margin of error must be allowed for because of the failure to locate some minor properties named in the 1831 returns, because the boundaries of the 1943 census units did not always correspond exactly with geological boundaries and because the 'boundaries' between the geological areas must remain to some extent artificial, but the possible inaccuracy is not such as to invalidate the conclusions drawn.

Tables III and IV are based mainly on data on agricultural holdings extracted from the series of Handbooks of Jamaica from 1831 onward. As such they are subject to reservations which may be expected to apply to official statistics based on tax returns in a peasant economy, particularly in the early part of the period. It should be pointed out perhaps that the reality of the general changes in agriculture illustrated by these figures is attested from other sources and is hardly in doubt. In certain cases it has been possible to correct mechanical errors in the figures for 1880. Unfortunately no comparison has been possible with the original returns from which the data given in the Handbooks were extracted.

The source and derivation of Figure 2 is sufficiently indicated in the text.

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Development and Stability in Central and West Africa: A Study in Colonial Monetary Institutions^a

By

SAMUEL I. KATZ

The fundamental political changes now in process in the Central African Federation (the Rhodesias and Nyasaland) as well as in the Gold Coast are being paralleled by major economic changes in these countries. In the financial field, the establishment of central banking institutions marks a new stage in the economic and financial history of both areas. On March 5, 1956, the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which is empowered to perform the usual central banking functions, came into existence.^b When the Gold Coast attains independence, a new national currency is expected to be issued with the Bank of the Gold Coast, a government-owned bank founded in 1953, acting as bank of issue.^c The introduction of central banking makes particularly timely a review of economic developments in the two countries under the colonial monetary arrangements formerly in effect.

In recent years, these two areas have been able to maintain internal stability in the face of booming exports and vigorous domestic growth. Both have been able to channel export earnings to finance internal development. Their stabilization programmes have differed in that the Gold Coast depended entirely upon official savings while the Rhodesian Federation could draw in addition upon an appreciable volume of private savings mobilized through financial institutions. This difference reflects in part the contrast between the developed banking system in the Federation and the rudimentary financial organization in the Gold Coast.

The experiences of these two countries throw light on two important aspects of colonial monetary arrangements. Just as the Bank of England's note-issue monopoly in the London area did not prevent the emergence of joint-stock banking in the 1830's, so the rigidity of the local Currency Board in the matter of note issue has not limited the growth of private bank credit in the Rhodesias. Because modern deposit banking has emerged in the Rhodesias under the same note-issue arrangements as were in effect in the Gold Coast, the

^aThe author is on the staff of the Division of International Finance, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. The conclusions presented in this study represent the personal opinions of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Federal Reserve Board.

^bThe powers of the new Bank are discussed in W. T. Newlyn (9).

^cFollowing elections in the middle of July 1956, the United Kingdom has set March 6, 1957 as the date when the Gold Coast is to obtain independence within the Commonwealth.

backwardness of Gold Coast financial institutions cannot be attributed to the rigidity of the Currency Board system. On the contrary, the Rhodesian experience suggests that the Currency Board system does not rigorously limit either the development of modern financial institutions or domestic economic growth. Secondly, the external reserves held by the Currency Boards as cover for local notes have not been excessive in amount as compared with conventional reserves of countries with independent monetary systems: they have represented about two months' imports for the Rhodesian Federation and six months' imports for the Gold Coast.

In the steps thus far taken, the authorities in both countries have been mindful of the dangers of introducing central bank credit into a community with limited or with very meagre private monetary savings. In both countries they have been promoting growth in financial institutions as an essential aspect of economic development, and a substantial broadening of the institutional base has been achieved in the past few years.

Sources of inflationary pressure

Since 1950, booming export prices and vigorous internal growth have generated inflationary pressures which have threatened economic stability in the Central African Federation and in the Gold Coast.

On the export side, the Federation has benefited from a copper boom, and the Gold Coast from a cocoa boom. The expansion in Federation exports from £91 million in 1950 to £155 million in 1954 (see Table 1) reflected a rise in prices, a heavier copper volume, and a growing proportion of refined electrolytic copper in place of the blister metal. The 49-per cent rise in Gold Coast exports, which rose from £77 million in 1950 to £115 million in 1954, reflected only favourable prices overseas: the Gold Coast index of *average* export value rose about 70 per cent but export volume declined by 12 per cent.

The predominant role of foreign trade make both these countries vulnerable to inflation in overseas markets. Exports comprise about half of the Rhodesian gross national product and a larger portion of money income in the Gold Coast. Furthermore, instead of being diversified over a range of products, exports are concentrated in a single major raw primary product which has experienced wide price fluctuations in the post-war period.

Distribution and output limitations also increase the vulnerability of the African economies. To obtain overseas consumer goods, for example, six months can elapse before a stepping-up of orders produces heavier arrivals at African ports. Port and transport congestion further slow down distribution. These limitations are particularly severe in the Gold Coast where booming cocoa incomes tend to overtax local food and distribution capabilities. In the words of the *Economic Survey*:

"Experience in recent years has indicated that any increase in the guaranteed purchase price of cocoa has always been accompanied by a rise in the prices of locally produced foodstuffs which form the staple diet of the country as a whole, while additional purchasing power in the hands of cocoa farmers gives rise to increases in the prices of imported goods until supply again comes into line." (3)

Vigorous internal growth, especially in the Rhodesian Federation, has accompanied the export boom. The Federation national income rose from £147 million in 1950 to £265 million in 1954. This 80 per cent increase in terms of current prices represents, when adjusted roughly for price changes, a real rate of growth in the neighbourhood of 9 per cent per annum. Simultaneously, the population also expanded rapidly.

The rate of internal growth has been less dramatic in the Gold Coast. The rate of development expenditures has been accelerating, but there are no statistical measures of the rate of economic development. In these programmes, public services and social services have thus far received priority. These expenditures, largely of a non-income producing variety, have sought to improve

TABLE 1. RHODESIAN FEDERATION AND GOLD COAST: SOURCES OF INFLATIONARY PRESSURE, 1950 TO 1954

(In millions of British pounds, except where noted)

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
I. Rhodesian Federation					
1. Price of copper (low and high for year)*	18.50 to 24.50	24.50	24.50	24.50 to 30.90	29.75 to 30.00
2. Exports:					
Copper	41.5	61.4	70.3	76.9	88.5
All other	49.2	53.5	58.0	59.4	66.0
Total exports	90.7	114.9	128.3	136.3	154.5
3. Net national income	147.4	175.9	206.9	235.7	265.1
4. Total money supply	83.5	87.6	91.7	92.2	106.3
II. Gold Coast					
1. Price of cocoa (low and high for year)†	22.32 to 43.58	28.56 to 38.38	30.06 to 38.38	29.59 to 47.35	48.30 to 71.45
2. Exports					
Cocoa	54.6	60.3	52.5	56.1	84.6
All other	22.8	31.7	33.9	33.8	30.1
Total exports	77.4	92.0	86.4	89.9	114.7
3. Total money supply	47.6	45.6	52.3	52.7	55.8

Sources: For price statistics, see footnote. All other statistics, *Monthly Digest of Statistics* for Rhodesian Federation and *Digest of Statistics* for Gold Coast.

*Electrolytic copper at New York from American Bureau of Metal Statistics.

†Cocoa beans, Accra, in New York market.

transport facilities and supplies of water and electricity, in contrast to the income-earning expenditures in the Federation. Estimates of gross fixed capital formation show rises from £15 million in 1950 to £28 million in 1954, but these totals are small, amounting to only one-third annual government revenue.

Domestic growth and enlarged export earnings have contributed to a

larger money supply. Between 1951 and 1954, the money supply rose in the Rhodesias from £88 million to £106 million and in the Gold Coast from £46 million to £56 million (see Table 1).

Price stability and the stabilization programmes

Despite the open character of their economies, these African countries have achieved a marked degree of economic stability since 1951. On an index basis, the rise in domestic prices has been less than comparable price movements in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia. Between 1951 and 1954, the cost of living rose by 12-13 per cent in the Rhodesias and actually declined in the Gold Coast (see Table 2). For the Gold Coast, the index of retail prices in Accra and the index of market prices for locally produced foodstuffs were lower at the end of 1954 than in December 1951. Despite the substantial price pressures experienced in both countries during the post-Korean inflation in 1950, the price rises between 1950 and 1954 were also below comparable increases for other British countries.

In their stabilization efforts, the Rhodesian Federation and the Gold Coast have tried to mobilize export earnings to finance investment expenditures. Although their techniques differed in certain details, both countries have been able to draw upon overseas earnings to finance internal development. The governments have earmarked current tax receipts for economic development, and rising private and corporate savings have contributed to stabilization in the Federation.

Growth of domestic savings in the Federation.

The expansion in domestic savings, both private and governmental, has been a dominant economic trend within the Rhodesian Federation since 1950. Gross savings grew from £38 million in 1950 to £73 million in 1954 (see Table 3). As a result, internal savings financed 84 per cent of gross investment in 1954 compared with 50 per cent in 1951 when overseas borrowing was at a post-war peak. Between 1950 and 1954, government savings grew by £13 million and individual and corporate savings by £23 million.

This remarkable growth in internal savings has been directly — and in large measure fortuitously — related to the copper boom. Government current-revenue surpluses and undistributed profits of the copper companies have been the principal sources (see Table 3). With corporate tax payments comprising about half total tax receipts, the copper companies are major direct contributors to Treasury revenue: between 1950 and 1954, the rise in corporate tax payments of £17 million compares with the £12 million expansion in all other tax receipts.

As a supplement to private and corporate savings, the Federation authorities have chosen to devote a substantial part of current tax receipts to finance economic development; this policy has been an integral part of their stabilization effort. In 1954, for example, about 33 per cent of current revenue was

TABLE 2. CONSUMER PRICE INDEXES: COMPARATIVE INCREASES,
1950 TO 1954 AND 1951 TO 1954
(In per cent)

	From 1950 to 1954	From 1951 to 1954
Southern Rhodesia	19	12
Northern Rhodesia	19	13
Gold Coast:		
Retail prices in Accra	14	-3
Market prices of local foodstuffs	27	-1
United Kingdom	25	14
South Africa	23	15
New Zealand	32	18
Australia	50	24
Kenya	28	19
Tanganyika	29	17
Uganda	n.a.	17

Source: *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, United Nations, except for Gold Coast where indexes shown in *Gold Coast Digest of Statistics* are used.

TABLE 3. RHODESIAN FEDERATION: FINANCING OF GROSS INVESTMENT
AND BUDGET SURPLUS
(In millions of British pounds)

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
I. Financing gross investment:					
1. Gross domestic savings:					
Personal savings	10.4	5.7	8.6	10.8	15.4
Government surpluses	8.3	11.4	22.2	23.0	21.1
Undistributed profits	7.3	17.7	10.2	12.2	20.4
Depreciation	11.8	13.6	16.3	15.3	16.3
Total domestic savings	37.8	48.4	57.3	61.3	73.2
2. Net borrowing abroad	28.2	49.3	42.4	26.5	16.1
3. Total gross investment†	65.0	97.3	97.7	85.9	87.3
II. Consolidated government accounts*					
1. Revenue:					
Corporate direct taxes	14.7	18.7	28.6	32.3	32.0
Other revenue	20.0	23.9	28.3	30.2	32.0
Total revenue	34.7	42.6	56.9	62.5	64.0
2. Total expenditures	26.4	31.2	34.7	39.5	42.9
3. Current surplus	8.3	11.4	22.2	23.0	21.1

Source: "Statistical Review of the Federation in 1954", *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, supplement, July, 1955.

†This total includes a minor 'Statistical Discrepancy' item which is shown separately in the original report, but is not reproduced in the table.

*Consolidated statements of revenue and expenditure of the Federal and Territorial governments, municipalities, other local authorities and Native authorities.

devoted to development, compared with 37 per cent in 1953 and 39 per cent in 1952. Government savings on this scale represent a major contribution to non-inflationary development financing.

Government savings in the Gold Coast

In contrast with the Rhodesian Federation, the Gold Coast authorities have relied entirely upon government savings to finance development. The Treasury has used its current-revenue surplus, derived principally from the cocoa-export duty, as the cornerstone of the country's stabilization programme. The rudimentary state of the Gold Coast's financial structure and the meagre volume of private monetary savings made it necessary for the Government to provide developmental funds.

In important respects, the problem of internal stabilization is more complex for the Gold Coast than for the Federation. Export supplies are produced not by a few mining companies but by perhaps 150,000 to 200,000 individual cocoa farmers who are not accustomed to pay income taxes or to invest directly in government bonds. Furthermore, the copper companies used their undistributed profits to finance projects which are important to Rhodesia's economic growth, whether new mines are being opened or housing is being built for the labour force. In the Gold Coast, on the other hand, the developmental expenditures which cocoa farmers might make out of any retained earnings would probably include projects of a lower comparative priority in its development programme.

The Gold Coast's stabilization programme grew out of marketing arrangements set up to cope with special wartime problems and continued into the post-war period to stabilize the incomes of cocoa farmers. From 1939 a statutory cocoa export marketing board paid local producers less than the world price in order to accumulate a reserve fund for stabilization purposes. During the war period, about three-eighths of sales proceeds were withheld; in the first five post-war years, the Cocoa Marketing Board paid out to local farmers only 60 per cent of its export earnings. This policy had the incidental economic effect of fully sterilizing the undistributed portion of the Board's earnings: the reserve funds were invested in the London market, and neither domestic incomes nor the money supply were affected by enlarged overseas earnings.

During 1951, there were major changes in Gold Coast economic policies. The Cocoa Marketing Board came under increasing pressures as the stabilization reserve grew; criticism was also stimulated by the Board's distribution policy.^a At the same time, there was increasing concern over the country's need for economic development, in part a reflection of accelerating political developments. In September 1951, the country's First Development Plan was approved. In December, under the Cocoa Duty and Development Fund Ordinance, the cocoa export tax was sharply raised in order to finance these development expenditures. Most of the surplus export earnings which had formerly accrued to the Cocoa Marketing Board became part of the Treasury's

^aA major criticism of the activities of the various West African Marketing Boards, particularly from the point of view of their effectiveness in stabilizing producers' income, may be found in (1).

tax receipts. The Government justified this change in practice on the grounds that

"a proportion of the country's export surplus should be set aside to ensure that adequate funds are available to finance the Development Plan, in addition to normal contributions to revenue" (2).

The Gold Coast authorities have used the export tax to limit cocoa producers' incomes and to provide government savings to finance economic growth. Current tax receipts increased from £20 million in 1950-51 to £74 million in 1954-55, with cocoa taxes providing £41 million of the expansion (see Table 4). Events in 1954-55 illustrate how the cocoa duty has been used for stabilization purposes. After the fiscal year had commenced and after the cocoa marketing season was underway, the tax on cocoa exports was raised because of booming prices in world markets: the graduated rate of the export levy (on returns above a base price) was pushed up and the revised tax produced £46 million in revenue compared with the original budget estimate of £15 million.

TABLE 4. GOLD COAST: CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FINANCES AND INVESTMENT EXPENDITURES, APRIL TO MARCH
(In millions of British pounds)

	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-54	1955-56
					Estimate	Out-turn
I. Government finances:						Estimate
1. Current receipts:						
Cocoa duty	4.5	10.8	16.4	18.8	15.0	45.7
Other receipts	15.6	18.9	24.0	27.5	27.3	28.7
Total receipts	20.1	29.7	40.4	46.3	42.3	74.4
2. Current expenditure†:	11.6	14.2	21.3	24.8	29.3	30.6
3. Current surplus*:						
Reported surplus	8.4	8.1	5.1	21.2	12.7	42.2
To Development Funds	.1	7.4	14.0	.3	.3	1.6
Total surplus	8.5	15.5	19.1	21.5	13.0	43.8
II. Financing government investment:						
Revenue surplus	—	**22.8	**14.2	21.2	—	42.2
Depreciation funds	—	.0	.0	.1	—	.1
Loans from Cocoa Marketing Board	—	.0	2.2	3.9	—	2.4
Local loans	—	.0	.0	.5	—	2.5
Total investment	—	22.8	16.4	25.7	—	47.3

Source: *Economic Survey* for 1953 and 1954.

†This category includes current and extraordinary payments, including subsidies and minor capital items.

*This category includes current revenue surplus as shown in the official accounts together with appropriations from revenue to the various developmental funds.

**These figures are not strictly comparable with other data, perhaps because they include receipts from the cocoa levy and other receipts earmarked for development purposes which are not put into the current revenue accounts.

With growing tax receipts, the actual Treasury surplus increased from £8.5 million in 1950-51 to about £44 million in 1954-55. These funds provided about 82 per cent of investment finance in 1953-54, (see Table 4), and are expected to finance about 90 per cent of investment expenditures during 1954-55 and 1955-56.

Limited commercial banking in the Gold Coast

The rudimentary financial structure in the Gold Coast, marked by meagre supplies of private monetary savings and of local bank credit, has forced the authorities to depend upon government savings to finance investment expenditures. The undeveloped character of Gold Coast commercial banking is in marked contrast with the modern deposit-banking system (largely among the European population) in the Rhodesian Federation. In 1954, for example, deposits comprised about 86 per cent of the Rhodesian money supply compared with 35 per cent in the Gold Coast (see Table 5). Similarly, domestic loans and security purchases comprised nearly 40 per cent of the Rhodesian money supply compared with 8 per cent in the Gold Coast.

The development of the banking habit in the Gold Coast has been hampered by the preoccupation of the two British commercial banks in financing foreign trade rather than in making local loans. In particular, the remittance charges on both external and internal transfers, which the banks rely upon for the bulk of their income, has shifted much of the financing of Gold Coast exports and imports outside the country. The "general policy of all exporters and importers is to minimize the corresponding movement of funds into and out of the colony" (4, p.58). Trading firms try to pay for imports with sterling export proceeds and the foreign-owned industrial enterprises finance their purchases through London. Foreign firms transfer deposits to the Gold Coast mainly to obtain local notes to meet local expenses.

Because the larger firms borrow outside the country, Gold Coast banking statistics give a misleading picture of the economic importance of banking.^a

TABLE 5. RHODESIAN FEDERATION AND THE GOLD COAST: SELECTED BANKING STATISTICS, DEC. 31
(In millions of British pounds)

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
I. Central African Federation:					
1. Notes and coin*	9.6	10.9	12.0	13.2	14.5
2. Bank deposits	†73.9	76.7	79.7	79.0	91.8
Total money supply	83.5	87.6	91.7	92.2	106.3
3. Assets of commercial banks:					
Balances abroad		††35.0	38.1	36.9	47.5
Loans and advances		††15.4	23.9	22.2	28.4
Government securities		†† 6.0	9.6	11.8	13.5
II. Gold Coast:					
1. Notes and coin*	33.8	33.8	37.6	35.9	36.0
2. Bank deposits	13.8	11.8	14.7	16.8	19.8
Total money supply	47.6	45.6	52.3	52.7	55.8
3. Assets of commercial banks:					
Balances abroad	3.0	3.0	6.8	9.3	9.0
Loans and advances	5.3	4.2	4.6	3.9	4.2

Source: Gold Coast, *Digest of Statistics* (monthly); Rhodesian Federation, *Monthly Digest of Statistics*.

*Notes and coin in hands of public as of March 31 of following year.

†Estimated from statistics in Newlyn and Rowan (10), Chapter IV.

††Average of four quarters ending June 30, 1951 from Newlyn and Rowan, p. 92.

^aSee, for example, the *Economic Development of Nigeria* (8), esp. pp. 153-154.

The figures show that Gold Coast banks are remarkably liquid: at the end of 1954, for example, liquid assets equalled 97 per cent of demand deposits and 77 per cent of all deposits. But this liquidity means only that the financing of the Gold Coast's trade is done in London, and not in Accra. In this respect, the Gold Coast is like British branch banking in a residential suburb where the local branch—because the local demand for loans is limited—accumulates excess funds which are transferred to, and loaned out by, more active branches. However, the distinctive difference in the case of the Gold Coast is that borrowing outside the country is encouraged by special transfer charges.

The practice of borrowing abroad has retarded the development of banking in the country. To some extent, local traders go so far as to avoid the banking system altogether; for example, they offer "local cash to an exporter who needs it in exchange for his cheque on a United Kingdom account" (4, p.59). The banks' remittance charges also retard the use of banking facilities for domestic transfers.^a Furthermore, in 1948 the advances of the United Africa Company to retailers and produce buyers exceeded the total advances of the two British banks in Nigeria and the Gold Coast (10, p.138).

Replacing the Currency Boards

The central banking institutions to be established will replace Currency Boards which have been responsible for the local note issue in both areas under review. In general, the Currency Board system has been subject to two principal criticisms: (a) the colony's foreign-exchange resources are unnecessarily locked up; and (b) the volume of currency is mechanically related to the balance of payments.^b In their recent experience, however, the Rhodesian Federation and the Gold Coast have not found excessive foreign exchange reserves tied up nor have they allowed the balance of payments to determine the domestic money supply in a mechanical fashion.

The characteristic feature of the Currency Board system is the mechanical nature of its operations: the Board automatically issues local notes against sterling in London and supplies sterling when local notes are surrendered. The note issue is always fully covered by sterling balances in London, and

^aDr. Greaves outspokenly criticizes these charges (see (4), p. 59). Sir Cecil Trevor was also highly critical: "Even though appreciable reductions have been made in recent years, I was impressed by the high rates charged by the banks for internal remittances, especially between centres at which they enjoy free transfers through the West African Currency Board and where no physical transfers of currency are involved. . . . I consider that, for the country's economy to develop on the right lines, it is essential that internal remittances should be available freely at cheap rates" (13).

^bAn excellent discussion of the Currency Board system is found in (12). See also, Arthur Hazelwood (6).

^cThe Southern Rhodesian Currency Board, established under 1938 legislation to provide notes for Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was permitted to hold a portion (initially 10 and later 30 per cent) of its funds in bonds of the three Governments. Newlyn and Rowan comment on the Board's holdings of such securities as follows: "It is a debatable point . . . whether this in itself represents a departure from the principle of complete sterling cover. The only Southern Rhodesian securities which the Board has held have been sterling securities registered and repayable in London: thus the Board has not so far acquired any local stock" (10, p.69).

an inflexible link is established between the local note and the pound; the colony's financial structure becomes an integral part of the monetary system of the United Kingdom. In the words of Dr. Greaves:

"No colony has a Central Bank or any other mechanism for regulating money and credit. Commercial banks obtain the cash they need from the local currency authority, and credit is a matter for their own discretion." (4, p. 27).

Yet the balances maintained by the Rhodesian and the Gold Coast authorities as note cover under the Currency Board system have not been excessive. In the first place, the note issue supplied by the Currency Board is exactly equivalent in all respects to the note of the Bank of England. If Bank of England notes were used in circulation in place of the Board's notes — a change in practice which would in no way improve the quality or the transferability of the local note — these London balances would be wiped out.^a To be able to obtain a reliable note issue and still be able to earn foreign income on a country's local note issue is not an unattractive proposition.

But, in the second place, the holdings of the Currency Boards are not out of line with conventional practices in other countries. These holdings represented for the Rhodesian Federation only two months of imports and for the Gold Coast about six months of imports. In terms of money supply, the balances of the Central African Currency Fund (£20 million on March 31, 1955) represented only 19 per cent of total Rhodesian notes and deposits and those of the West African Currency Board accruing to the Gold Coast^b (estimated at about £34 million on September 30, 1954) represented about 61 per cent of Gold Coast money supply^c (see Table 5).

Though it is true that the volume of currency is mechanically related to the balance of payments (the second major criticism of the Currency Board system), it does not follow that there is no role for monetary flexibility in colonial areas. The Currency Boards are responsible only for the note issue. Just as the Bank of England's note-issue monopoly in the London area did not prevent the emergence of joint-stock banking in the 1830's, so the rigidity of the local Currency Board in the matter of note issue does not limit the growth of deposit banking. Because bank lending was a major factor in the money supply, for example, Southern Rhodesia found it necessary—despite its

^aForeign notes have in the past circulated as domestic currency in the Philippine Islands and Cuba and continue to circulate in Liberia and Panama. From Britain's viewpoint, the advantage of the Currency Board arrangement would seem to be the convenience to British merchants and others to deal without distinction in either local notes or sterling.

^bThe West African Currency Board, the first experimental colonial Currency Board which commenced operations in 1913, has provided the note issue for the four territories of Nigeria, Gold Coast, the Gambia and Sierra Leone.

^cThe Currency Boards hold 100 per cent sterling cover against the note circulation but no cover against local deposits; hence, the larger the volume of deposits, the smaller the proportion of these sterling balances.

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Currency Board – to introduce domestic credit restraint in early 1952, quite independent of the restrictions being applied in Britain. This restraint was imposed to check a post-Korean import drain, financed substantially by the rise in bank advances from £21.3 million at the end of 1950 to £34.1 million in 1951, which had reduced the overseas balances of the commercial banks to a record low of £3 million by March 1952, the seasonal low point. This loss in foreign balances prompted the Government to issue a directive to the banks to curtail credit, particularly for non-essential imports; the Federal Prime Minister later stated that the banks themselves had requested this action (14). The commercial banks had responded to a depletion of reserves just as a central bank would have acted.

It is in colonial areas such as the Gold Coast, where deposit banking has not developed, that monetary flexibility has little scope. In such areas, the local authorities must depend upon budgetary (and related official) policies to offset balance-of-payments fluctuations. The need for government savings argues against currency appreciation as an anti-inflationary policy, assuming such an adjustment were possible: the higher exchange rate, which would relieve pressures on local prices, would also reduce tax revenue from export levies.^a Thus, it is not the Currency Board, but the existence of institutional factors limiting the volume of bank credit and of private savings, which limits the role of monetary policy. In the Gold Coast, deposits are only one-third of the money supply, bank loans are only minor in volume, and private savings are not made available for domestic finance through organized capital markets or through a developed banking habit: under these conditions, the flexibility of a monetary policy is restricted by the rudimentary character of the financial structure, regardless of how the note issue is handled.

Central banking and economic stabilization

The substitution of a central banking institution for a Currency Board probably will not materially extend the use of monetary techniques to reconcile economic stabilization and development financing in the Rhodesian Federation or the Gold Coast. The scope of monetary policy even with a central bank will continue to be limited by institutional backwardness. Furthermore, because of local conditions, the authorities will be restricted to those stabilization policies which have been successful in the recent past: only increased private savings (and in the Gold Coast the growth of commercial bank credit for local enterprise) can reduce the dependence of the authorities upon government savings as the basis of economic policy. Both areas will probably

^aFor a contrary view, see: "The expansion of local circulation in this period is an interesting demonstration of the relative ineffectiveness of cautious Nigerian budgetary policies to prevent the transmission of general sterling area inflation to Nigeria when the currency is tied directly to sterling. Short of an appreciation of the West African pound, which would have been essentially inconsistent with the Currency Board system, there was no way in which the local administration could have avoided the price inflation which has occurred" (8, p.151).

have to continue to rely upon revenue surpluses, obtained principally from export earnings, to finance internal growth.^a

It is in the institutional field that the central banks can be expected to introduce important changes. In Rhodesia, the transfer of commercial bank reserves to comply with local reserve requirements should aid the expansion in the short-term money market.^b The central bank should also broaden the market for government securities.^c

In the Gold Coast, important changes in the financial structure are already in process,^d but the over-riding uncertainty remains the future of deposit banking. The lack of African banking is the principal institutional gap. Direct British lending to the African sector has always been limited. Legal and sociological peculiarities of African tribal life have contributed to this deficiency: in particular, acceptable bankable collateral is difficult to obtain in the absence of individual land ownership, and family and tribal customs definitely discourage individual savings at banks. None the less, the scale of remittance charges on local and overseas transfers and the rigid adherence by the British banks to commercial-banking principles more appropriate to business conditions in Britain than to those in the Gold Coast have retarded the growth of the banking habit.

The African population lacks experience in credit-granting and — in some

^aIn the Gold Coast, the Government's cocoa price policy has become a matter of increasingly grave political controversy. For example, the *New York Times* reports: "A controversy over cocoa prices has brought the Gold Coast its first major internal crisis under African Government" (11). The Government's policy is defended in *Economic Survey* (3, pp. 17-20).

^bThe active demand for Treasury bills, particularly by mining companies with substantial sums for temporary investment, has marked the beginnings of a short-term money market. In October, 1955, the Federal Treasury authorized the various statutory commissions (the Grain Marketing Board, the Cotton Industries Board, the Dairy Marketing Board, the Cold Storage Commission, and the Electricity Supply Commission) to sell three-month bills identical in terms to Treasury bills. The Grain Marketing Board was able to raise about £2 million for three months at 3 per cent at a time when the British Treasury was borrowing in London at over 4 per cent on Treasury bills.

^cAt present, the chief holders of government securities are the insurance companies, pension funds, and certain official sinking funds; private investor holdings have been limited by the high returns on mortgages, the tradition of prospecting speculation, and the high returns from stocks listed on the local (Salisbury and Bulawayo) and Johannesburg Stock Exchanges.

^dThe local capital market in the Gold Coast is quite meagre but the Bank of the Gold Coast is already trying to encourage its development. Prior to 1954, the Cocoa Marketing Board was the only subscriber to government bonds, but two local issues have been made since early 1954: a £500,000 issue at 4 per cent and a £1 million issue at 3½ per cent. In his budget speech on February 22, 1955, the Finance Minister stated that 424 individuals held £129,940 of bonds and that 314 Africans held £78,990. Two premium bonds in £5 denominations with a lottery feature have recently been issued. To broaden the capital market, the Bank of the Gold Coast has now been empowered to buy and sell Treasury bonds at prices which vary according to demand and supply and yet can give a repurchase guarantee at not less than purchase price. A 90-day Treasury bill was first issued on July 15, 1954 to borrow temporarily idle commercial funds. A mortgage-banking programme, introduced in 1954, provided funds to the Bank to assist commercial and industrial firms to obtain capital by means of fully-secured loans with maturity up to three years. A Guarantee Corporation, with a £300,000 authorized capital, is intended to assist the growth of small African businesses by providing short-term credit facilities (i.e. guarantees, loans, and discounts to African traders) with government support. (See *Economic Survey*, 3, pp. 16-17 and 63).

ways a greater obstacle — in credit-using. The history of African banking in Nigeria illustrates some of the dangers of introducing bank credit in a community with only a limited credit-giving and credit-using history.^a The prominent roles of the Government and the co-operatives as intermediaries between the suppliers and users of credit represent attempts to widen African use of credit in the Gold Coast.

On the favourable side, the external finances of the Gold Coast are strong: its external debt is only £8 million compared with sterling balances of £167 million (see Table 6). The fact that its sterling balances are four times as large as its present currency reserves may help to explain why the authorities appear to have decided not to introduce a fiduciary issue following Britain's change in fundamental policy in December 1954. In response to criticism of the 100 per cent note cover under the Currency Board system, the United Kingdom abandoned this principle to permit colonies to "use locally issued colonial government securities as note cover to the extent of 20 or 30 per cent of their note circulation."^b The expectation that a fiduciary issue would be introduced in the West African colonies prompted the United Africa Company periodical to examine the question with great care.^c However, a shortage of sterling balances is not likely to become an obstacle to the internal expansion of the money supply in the Gold Coast in the near future. In any case, the Finance Minister stated in the Legislative Assembly on April 5, 1955 that:

"The unit of the new currency will be exchanged and maintained as now at a value equivalent to that of the pound sterling, and will be fully backed by sterling, for the Government is firmly convinced that for many years to come the interests of this country will best be served by a close link with sterling."

TABLE 6. GOLD COAST: STERLING BALANCES BY HOLDERS
(In millions of pounds)

Date	Cocoa Marketing Board	Government	Other official institutions	Banks	Estimated currency reserves	Total balances
Dec. 31, 1950	41.4	18.6	4.7	3.8	35.0	103.5
June 30, 1952	68.3	36.0	4.4	1.9	30.5	141.1
March 31, 1953	58.5	41.3	5.8	10.2	33.2	149.0
March 31, 1954	63.5	49.4	8.6	13.3	32.6	167.4

Source: Gold Coast, *Economic Survey* for 1952, 1953 and 1954.

In the Gold Coast as in the Rhodesian Federation, therefore, the financial

^aAn excellent history of African banking in Nigeria is found in Newlyn and Rowan (10), Chapter V.

^bSee *International News Survey* (7) which reproduces British press reports. The change in practice would not alter the automatic redemption of local notes but is designed to stimulate subscriptions to local government loans and to lay the basis of local colonial money markets. The problem of the 'idle' balances locked up in currency funds is discussed by Ida Greaves (5), esp. pp. 13 and 14.

^c*Statistical and Economic Review* (12). The article concludes that confidence would not be shaken "provided the currency arrangements of the future are based on the sound past practices of the Currency Board." (p.21).

changes presently being introduced are purely institutional in character; but the policies rather than the institutional structure are vital to economic stabilization. The two principal policies in the financial field — the conservative financing of development expenditures out of revenue derived from export earnings and the provision of a reliable note issue — need not be affected by the institutional changes thus far proposed. This continuity in policies may make possible a continuation of the tradition of responsible financial management which has been characteristic of both these African areas under British rule.

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Community Organization in Rural Jamaica^a

By

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In this paper I present a tentative model of community organization in the Jamaican hill country, in the hope that it will be of practical use to persons working there on development and welfare projects. Since my aim here is to provide a practical guide to community structure and dynamics, I shall avoid discussion of abstract sociological issues as far as possible, and concentrate on the methods and problems of studying community organization. The model and methods set out here derive from field work in eight 'districts' during the Jamaican Rural Labour Survey, 1955.

The Community Concept

Definitions of community vary. MacIver describes it as "any whole area of social life" and Ginsberg defines it as "a group of social beings leading a common life, including all the infinite variety and complexity of relations which result from the common life or constitute it" (1, 14). By a community, I shall mean a field of social relations based on regular face-to-face association between persons. Such face-to-face associations imply co-existence within a defined area; and the simple fact of recurrence in such social contacts, together with the likelihood that this will continue for some indefinite period, makes for some elements or levels of patterning.

Communities are local groups, and as local groups they fall into two main classes, those with compact settlement patterns and well-defined boundaries, and those which are dispersed in settlement pattern and overlap one another at the boundaries to a greater or less degree. Differences in the levels and types of formalization of community structure are often related to these differences of settlement pattern. In this regard, isolation can be of special importance. Except where compact communities are also isolated, as in the case of certain Indian villages and rural Hausa settlements in Northern Nigeria, community boundaries are often difficult to establish, and the determination of community margins and membership presents a serious problem

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for sociologists as well as for field organizers working on programmes of which the community is a constituent unit (13).

The levels of intensity of social relations within a local group vary for spatial as well as other reasons. People living on the boundaries or margins of a local group may have their closest social ties with groups outside it. Class and wealth differentials are also important. The motor car permits close and continuous social relationships between people who live at some distance from one another. The members of a particular class whose homes are quite dispersed may be divorced from the population among whom they dwell, and may really form a community of their own, in some senses of the term.

Jamaican Settlement Types

In Jamaica we must begin by distinguishing the urban area, the flourishing country towns, fishing villages, certain isolated settlements, recently established Government Land Settlements, the sugar areas with their plantation economies and social organization, and rural communities proper. Each of these different types of settlement may well have its own peculiar form or level of community organization. I shall confine my remarks in this paper to the last class of rural communities. Between one-third and one-half of the population of Jamaica live in settlements of this type.

In Jamaica it is further necessary to distinguish rural communities from certain other types of local units, with which they are prone to be confused. As I have defined it, a community is not a polling division, nor a market area, nor, usually, a village, and only in certain specific uses of the term is it a 'district'. Nor are these different types of units identical. 'Districts' may include or cut across polling divisions, market areas and village boundaries. Similarly, polling divisions may include segments of two or more communities, while a village may include several polling divisions. Polling divisions are purely functional units set up by the Electoral Office for the registration of voters and the holding of elections. Their boundaries are determined simply by these considerations.

As used by government officials, or with governmental organization in mind, the term 'District' normally denotes an arbitrarily defined area which forms a unit in relation to some administrative scheme or function. Thus, we can speak of Districts of the Agricultural Department, or the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission; or of a proclaimed area or District under the laws to control praedial larceny, especially Law 30 of 1942 and Law 26 of 1949. As used by rural folk, however, the term 'district' normally refers to a distinct community, members of which recognize certain bonds among themselves which do not extend to other groups nearby. Thus a person may say, "I am from 'Ridge', (district), Top Hill, South St. Elizabeth", meaning that he is a member of the community at Ridge which has its nearest Post Office, school, and governmental agencies at Top Hill, another district or community in South St. Elizabeth. To outsiders, however, including extension workers,

Ridge might seem to be simply a portion of Top Hill District and community. Such misinterpretation of field realities by outsiders may promote difficulties in the achievement of their objectives, especially where these consist in the organization of community participation in development and welfare schemes. Whatever its administrative utility and reference, which may be various, the term District, as used by officials, does not refer directly to community units. As currently used by officials, this term sometimes refers to an area having some former historical and administrative unity, and at other times refers to a unit within some present administrative framework. Despite its inappropriateness, however, this administrative usage has been widely adopted by organizations committed to working through communities, and has been taken to distinguish them.

In rural Jamaica, villages consist of clusters of homes and shops, and typically contain the local primary school, Post Office and other governmental agencies which service an official District. Where there is a market, it normally meets at the village centre once a week, but unless it is sufficiently important its limits may not be gazetted. The village is strung out along the road or intersecting roads which have promoted its growth. This pattern of ribbon development is similar to that characteristic of rural communities, but has a denser distribution of buildings consequent on the more favourable economic conditions and communications to be found in the village.

The village acts as the distributive and organizational centre for the more dispersed settlements grouped around it, and which it serves. Unless completely isolated, it cannot be regarded as forming a community of its own separate from these dispersed settlements, since its sectors form parts of the communities immediately behind them. Nor is the village as a whole simply a part of the community formed by these dispersed settlements which surround it, since the dispersed settlements are themselves distinct communities. Thus, communal relations hold between sectors of the village and the settlements immediately adjoining them, but do not hold between segments at the opposite ends of the village. None the less the village as a whole acts as the economic focus and agent of the communities immediately dependent upon it. Furthermore, if villages do not normally form distinct communities of their own except in cases of isolation, then the population living within the market limits of a village market is obviously not a single community. Market limits, it must be remembered, are a recent administrative introduction in Jamaica.

Rural Community Characteristics

The following description of Jamaican rural communities summarizes those characteristics which distinguish them broadly as a distinct settlement type in the island, and also provides some guides to the determination of their boundaries.

Normally, these rural communities are established in hill areas, where estate operations are marginal, and the majority of the population is engaged in own-account farming on their own smallholdings or on plots acquired under tenancy. Settlement pattern is dispersed within the conditions of local land relief and land holding. Where there are motor roads, ribbon development is characteristic but discontinuous, household clusters forming neighbourhood foci for the dispersed homes beyond them.

Historically, as is well known, emancipation in Jamaica was followed by the withdrawal of large numbers of people from the sugar-producing plains, and this withdrawal has given rise to a permanent structural differentiation between hill and plain areas (4, 10). Plantation economies and social systems have persisted on the plains, while peasant type economies and societies were developed among the population which settled the hills as squatters, freeholders, or with Mission assistance. One often finds today a general denominational attachment in some of these hill communities, and to some extent this attachment reflects the historical conditions in which Missions assisted their establishment. But today, church influence is probably dominant and integrating only where the community is considerably isolated.

Craft production is marginal within the rural community economies, and trade unionism is almost entirely absent. Markets are only to be found in the principal village centres. There is little wage-employment available locally except agricultural or domestic work. In terms of population movement, these rural areas attract little in-migration, but have substantial out-migrations of two types: relatively long-term movement out to other parts of Jamaica or abroad, and short-term seasonal flows of young people to the sugar-producing areas nearby. Thus we can conceive of them as relatively closed communities. Among the bulk of their population, the levels of education, income and living are low, housing is generally sub-standard, and public facilities are rudimentary and poor.

Police supervision is generally exercised in somewhat personal fashion by a District Constable who may or may not be resident within the community he serves. Where praedial larceny districts have been proclaimed, certain other persons are also authorized to make arrests under these laws, but these normally reside within the communities concerned. There may be a Justice of the Peace living in or near the area; but often there is none nearby; and doctors or qualified dentists are hardly ever found resident in these regions. Visits by a doctor once weekly, for an hour or so, are as much as most of these districts can boast; and the local herbal and magical specialists enjoy a high degree of freedom from local competition by the clergy as well as the physicians.

Peasant holdings form the typical enterprises of these communities, and in their organization and operation reflect the prime importance of kinship relations. Farm production is focused on provision of commodities for house-

hold subsistence as much as for exchange. Land is held under a system of customary tenure, involving conceptions and practices of family ownership (3). In terms of the prevailing patterns of domestic economy, women have an important role as marketing agents, and the smallholder without a mate or adult daughter often finds some difficulty in getting his provisions to market on his own account.

The basic unit within these communities is the household, a group which shares a common dwelling place, eating and sleeping together as a unit and co-operating in the provision of household needs by complementary or group activities, the latter typically involving the exploitation of certain common resources, notably land. Within any rural community, however, one will find several cases of single individuals living on their own, and there are other instances in which the definition of household membership may be quite ambiguous. For various purposes, different household types can be distinguished, the simplest and most usual initial breakdown consisting in a classification according to the sex of the household head. Household headship, however, is itself a composite concept, embracing such factors as age, health, formal or informal control of the principal resources of the household, ownership of the house, and taking into account the different positions of the senior household members with regard to the numbers and status of their kin within the household or in other units nearby.

It is reasonable to expect that church organization and leadership would provide communities of this type with some hierarchic patterns of integration, but these integrative capacities of religion are often latent and diffuse, due either to non-residence and infrequent attendances of the few ordained ministers who serve the country parts, or to the divisiveness generated by the claims of competing denominations and cults, especially as between Protestant Nonconformity, Revivalism and Roman Catholicism.

The Problem of Boundaries and Membership.

Having indicated the type of community under discussion, its characteristics and its difference from other types of local unit, I now have to deal with the problems of boundary determination which the dispersed settlement pattern presents.

Probably the most important factor governing community formation and separation in Jamaica is topography, especially land relief, water supplies, and roadways. Steep slopes make steep ascents, and this limits the intensity of social contacts across valleys, ridges and the like. Conversely, level patches or unbroken slopes make for easy and frequent social intercourse. These differences find expression in various ways, as for instance in mating relationships. Characteristically, rural folk tend to mate within their local group rather than with members of groups immediately adjoining theirs; and on the whole, the pattern of mating within a single community differs from that which crosses community boundaries. When members of immediately adjoining

ing local groups mate, their relation normally begins by visiting and may continue to do so for years without the establishment of a common household, especially in those cases where both parties hold land or have cultivated plots in their several communities. By contrast, within the local group, the topographically distinct unit of mutually accessible homes, such mating normally leads to the early establishment of a common domestic unit, either separately or as part of the parental household of one of the partners, and normally this occurs in response to the pressures of kinsfolk who live nearby. Where inter-community mating occurs, such kinship pressures are less effective, and other factors serve to keep the partners living in their different communities.

In looking over the countryside for the probable boundaries of rural communities, we must therefore begin with the principal topographic features which define local groups as community units, and which may further define neighbourhoods within those local groups. These primary topographic features are water supplies, land relief, and the roads, motor or other, which lead through the area and beyond it to some village or town.

Other indicators of community boundaries in rural Jamaica strike the eye less immediately, if at all, but are none the less both important and easily documented. They include the local distributions of visiting, praedial larceny, kinship, leadership, free or exchange labour in farming, interest-free loans, religious affiliation, tradition and interest. Since these patterns may be unfamiliar, I shall say a few words about them and try to indicate their cumulative significance.

Among Jamaican country folk, visiting practices are quite distinctive. In the rural areas, males who are neither kin nor close neighbours rarely visit one another except 'on needs occasion', that is, when illness or death occurs, or on matters of business or by invitation for such ceremonies as baptism or marriage; but this restriction carries less weight within a community than might at first appear, since most members of the community are likely to be kinsfolk. Moreover, children move about freely between households, and women also visit one another easily, sometimes to arrange their marketing affairs. But across community boundaries, visits rarely occur except for specific business purposes.

Sometimes it is difficult to classify visits according to their purpose. Two friends who habitually 'lend' one another free day's work in farming may spend hours at each other's homes, ostensibly arranging their future work partnership. But cases of this kind are also extremely rare across community boundaries. Men who are 'partners' in co-operative farm work, who regularly exchange free labour with one another, and may advance small sums of money or aid in kind, as occasion requires, to one another, are almost always members of the same community. Members of different communities rarely work one another's farms in partnership, or make these interest-free loans,

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Since the majority of community members who remain within their local group tend to mate therein, it follows that ties of kinship and affinity ramify widely among them, and these ties provide a broad and acceptable basis for mutual visiting. Children certainly make much of these opportunities, and because of their frequent movement between homes, they come to know and be known to their neighbours increasingly as they mature. The intimate knowledge of one another from childhood which is typical of persons who are members of the same community develops on this basis, and distinguishes them as a unit from the local groups on their boundaries, who do not know them extensively or intensively, and of whom they also know little. Cases occur in which households are ignorant of their closest neighbours across a community boundary, and in a good many more instances such neighbours have never visited or spoken to one another. It is probable that this type of social discontinuity is most marked where the community boundary is clearly defined, as by a ridge or a portion of some estate. Yet, however indistinct the boundary may seem, familiarity with neighbours and kin who are members of one's own community contrasts vividly with the unfamiliarity across community boundaries. Moreover, this differential knowledge is quite easily ascertained. If local class divisions and relations are discussed with people in these areas in detail, and information is sought about individuals representative of different strata, the informant's range of knowledge can easily be mapped by suggesting the names of people drawn from different parts of the locality, and by testing the informant's capacity to give detailed information about these persons. People generally know their own community and its personnel in considerable detail, although they may be unwilling to talk or to tell the truth; but they tend to be vague and less well-informed about adjacent communities, since visits are rarely exchanged across these boundaries, and since inter-community ties are individual and specific rather than general or diffuse.

As we shall see, there are a number of formal associations in most rural areas. As regards the problem of determination of community boundaries, the most revealing of these local associations is probably the cricket club. This is normally an informal organization, deriving most or all of its support from local personnel, and organizing weekly matches with teams from other communities, some of which may be at a considerable distance. When matches are played against distant teams, trucks are hired to take the local club members and their kinsfolk of both sexes from the community, and they often make a weekend of it. Where two or three cricket clubs occur in adjoining areas, the boundaries within which the members of each live, and from which its supporters are drawn, will almost always coincide closely with the divisions between these rural communities.

Similarly, where a wage rate changes sharply for a particular task, the place at which it changes normally marks a community division. For example, a man may do day's work for another who is a member of the same community for a particular rate, but if asked to work for a third person who is a member of a different community, he will normally demand a higher rate.

Where two or three elementary schools are roughly equi-distant from a given area, the children of that community will tend to go to the same school.

When a man calls for a free day's work, such as a 'Morning Sport' on his cultivation, the majority of those who turn up to assist him are members of his own community. Similarly, men who exchange farm labour with one another on a regular basis through the institution of 'Partnership' or 'Lend-day', are almost always members of the same community (12). Those men who receive most assistance at 'Morning Sport' or a 'digging' are clearly amongst the most popular in their community. Conversely, the men who receive least assistance, or none at all, on these occasions are among the least well liked. This simply means that each community recognizes within itself an informal local leadership. The character of this leadership is informal, since it is established, maintained, or discontinued solely through the movement of popular support and confidence; but this informal character does not make such leadership insignificant or ineffective.

When a man living in one community cultivates a plot within another solely for his own benefit, he often finds that losses by theft occur on this distant plot. These repeated thefts may continue even when he has no individual enemies in the community in which this plot is situated. On the other hand, if he is merely working land on a share-cropping basis for some member of that community, such thefts are far less likely. Conditions such as these illustrate by contrast the strength, significance and effects of community sentiments. Members of a community regard it as a specially heinous offence to steal one another's livestock or crops; and if such theft is found out, it normally gives rise to ejection from the community as an effect of local ridicule and ostracism. On the other hand, there does not appear to be any similar prohibition against larceny of crops or livestock belonging to members of other communities, or to strangers within the community. Persons who regularly suffer losses by theft from the holdings on which they live are not usually true members of that local community. They live within it, but are not of it. Either the community has not accepted them, or they have not accepted the community. In the latter case they are likely to be of a superior socio-economic status to that of the community average. Where they are of average status and are not accepted, they are almost certainly immigrants or have a delinquent past. Persons of superior socio-economic status rarely exchange visits with other households of inferior status in the neighbourhood, nor do they attend the wakes and Nine-night ceremonies which are customary after death. Such people are either representatives of a different section of

Jamaican society from that to which most of the community belong, and practise different forms of the same institutions, and have different beliefs, values and attitudes, or, erroneously, they see themselves in this light.

Communities are further distinguished in terms of tradition and quasi-political interests. For example, the people of any particular place will have demands for government assistance and complaints of government neglect which are specific to them and which normally evoke little sympathy outside their boundary. Thus, where different demands are juxtaposed and complaints are voiced, the community boundary lies in between. This identification of community members is often strengthened where there is a general attachment to a single denomination or cult leader, but as we have seen, this tends to be rare except in isolated districts.

It is not accidental that the critical indexes of community solidarity and difference should consist in the differential incidences of particular types or forms of social relations in rural Jamaica, rather than in symbols of a more material type such as a church or a plaza, as in the Latin-American *municipios*. Unfortunately, upper-class Jamaicans tend to interpret community organization and boundaries in terms of such symbols, and to argue from the church or the market square to the district around it. In fact, however, non-correspondence of community division with material symbols derives to some extent from past and present official preoccupation with local units of different character established for a variety of administrative purposes. Moreover, the rural communities now under discussion were typically established over a century ago by a population withdrawing from the Jamaican society which surrounded them. Consequently, from their establishment, emphasis in their identity and differentiation has rested on social relations rather than on material or cultural symbols such as churches, boundary marks, or community rituals of an obvious type. The real community rituals occur at the Wake or the Nine-night, when a death leads to a demonstration of community solidarity with the bereaved. Finally, primacy of social factors and relations in the differentiation of rural communities simply reflects the fact that communities are essentially social units constituted, defined and distinguished in terms of social relations.

Formal Associations and the Community

The principal characteristics of rural communities having been described, I now have to discuss the problem of their integration in terms of the principles on which they are organized.

The dispersal of households within a community, their economic and social distinctiveness, and the tenuousness and multiplicity of kinship relations within the community, point to certain problems relating to the integration of these household units on a community level. Granted that the community has boundaries, or even that we can speak of more and less communality, it is reasonable to begin the search for integrative mechanisms by looking to

the agencies and associations which are formally designed to serve and to bind these household units into a distinctive group, or which are based on the assumptions that they form a distinctive group. Governmental agencies such as the school, Post Office, medical or maternity services and the like, could act as foci of common interests; so can the Church. Children meet one another in school, their parents in church, and all share such common leadership as teachers, priests or religious elders provide; normally too, all look to a single nurse or midwife for modern medical assistance. Shopkeepers, produce dealers, government road headmen and foremen also deal with the population of a community as a unit. Political party organizations might also segment or consolidate social relationships within the area and certainly add another dimension to their organization. The owners or overseers of properties on the community margins which offer relatively large employment opportunities are important people locally, and may deal with labour drawn from the area casually or on a regular basis.

Such formal associations as the Jamaica Agricultural Society branch, the local branch of the Women's Federation, the Parent-Teachers' Association, Banana Growers' Association (A.I.B.G.A.), Pioneer or 4-H Clubs, and various commodity or co-operative associations, normally have teachers or other prominent local folk at their head. In areas where the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission has been working for some time, there may also be a Community Council, and one or two special craft or project groups linked in with the welfare agency. Since membership in these various formal associations does not usually coincide with community boundaries, they tend to remain artificial groupings of heterogeneous composition for specific ends. Weaknesses in their functioning and operation reflect their constitution, and weaknesses of this sort find greatest expression in the Community Councils, of which the constituent units are normally these other formal associations.

Various voluntary associations to be found in rural areas break down into a few simple classes; religious organizations, whether churches or sects; associations attached to the Jamaica Agricultural Society and often organized by it, notably the registered co-operatives and commodity associations such as the A.I.B.G.A., Citrus Growers' Association, etc., and Thrift Clubs; associations organized by or within the framework of the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, such as the Community Council, 4-H Club, Pioneer Club, Adult Literacy groups, etc.; associations attached to and organized about the school, namely the Parent-Teachers' Association, school clubs and the like; political party groups; and those informal associations which derive their entire leadership and support from the community members themselves, such as unregistered co-operatives or cricket clubs.

Excluding the religious bodies, the schools and the J.A.S. itself, the majority of these associations, although nationwide in character, are of recent development. They are primarily focused on improving rural welfare, standards of

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living and farm practices, and at a national level are subsidized either by government indirectly or financed through the commodities which they handle. Characteristically, each of these organizations at the local level has a local president, treasurer, secretary and other officers; and keeps records, minute books and the like. Leadership of each of these formal associations tends to be highly concentrated, the key positions in most associations in any area being held by a very few people. It is therefore, interesting to notice that the majority of the positions of formal leadership in these associations now being discussed are commonly held by strangers to the community, teachers, welfare workers, and other persons who have come in to do a job.

In communities where there is a prominent middle-sized farmer, he and his wife may dominate most of the organizations in which they are interested. Such domination is often directed to some extent towards political targets with which the leaders are sympathetic. The parts which extension officers of the agricultural, welfare, co-operative or other department play in the life of these improvement or commodity associations, vary a good deal according to the nature of the association, its membership, leadership and significance for departmental policy objectives. Frequently, festival days, training days, or local exhibitions may be organized; attempts to build community halls, may be made by the suggestion or request of the extension officer, whose role is conceived as catalysis rather than direction. The associations themselves vary a good deal in survival value. Some of them seem to go through continuous successions of death and re-birth without any increase of effectiveness. Attendance is also often depressingly low, notably in certain Parent-Teachers' Associations. Units like the Federation of Women which link welfare and development work, depend to a high degree on the drive of the local leader, and correspondingly reflect her conceptions.

One frequently meets informal associations which spring up among the community natives on a neighbourhood or community basis, often with multi-functional character, sometimes for specific purposes such as co-operation in the sale of eggs and poultry, savings, farm help and the like. If these groups flourish and expand, they tend to fall within the orbit of one or other of the extension services which operate in the area, and to be organized formally, with a written constitutional, procedural code and set of targets drawn up by some departmental officer. Frequently such a process of official organization stifles what was a thriving group. It does so probably because it removes the control of the association from the people themselves. Formalization of procedure and literacy requirements often present barriers to effective action by local folk who enjoy their neighbours' confidences. More importantly, registration often involves reduction and redefinition of group functions, and may destroy the values of association for former members. Consequently, interest and membership may lapse.

To the extent that the population of a rural community is engaged in diversified farming, the small holders will tend to be drawn into one or other co-operative and commodity association handling their major crops. Thus the enrolment within these farm service associations may be quite heavy. Enrolment and effective participation are, however, quite distinct. Branch meetings may be poorly attended unless some outstanding issues such as price are at stake. Multiple membership of male householders in these voluntary associations does not therefore indicate a corresponding degree of community organization or integration along these lines. Basically this is so because the leadership is foreign and the objectives and methods of procedure and organization may also be unfamiliar. Dissatisfaction about bonuses, prices locally paid and administrative mishaps of one type or another, serve to reduce enthusiasm and membership while the relative immobility of leadership at the local and national level in these associations blocks effective protest and change. Consequently community councils and the like which are reared on the foundation of such associations often fail to function effectively, since the constituent units themselves often lack local support.

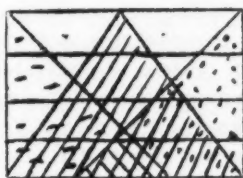
Informal Organizing Principles

We have seen that the collection of individuals and households which form the local community, does not gain much integration through specific associations. There are, however, other principles operating which serve to organize and structure community relationship.

The most general differences between community members are those of age, sex, and wealth. Colour is only of significance in most rural communities where wealth permits status aspirations, and in such cases might serve to isolate the mobiles in ratio to their emphasis on colour (11). Sex differences provide a basis of family and mating relations which link the members of different households, and which also find expression in formal associations such as the Women's Federation, the 4-H and the Churches. In associations of direct political or economic purpose however, women play a less prominent part than do their men folk.

The primary age distinctions among rural folk are those between the children of school age; young folk who have left school but have not entered into regular domestic unions; those who have domestic responsibilities of their own, but whose children have not yet started to work; and older people. Emphasis on age differences as a status factor is important within the family and leads to some separation of the elderly from the junior males. This often reduces the leadership value of age unless wealth or certain other conditions are present. Men of 35 to 50 years old often exercise considerable influence over their juniors, simply by presenting the latter with personal models of successful adjustment.

Rural community organization is defined in terms of stratification and



segmentation. We can think loosely in terms of a grid, the horizontal division consisting mostly in class and wealth variables, while the slanting vertical divisions follow spheres of power and influence.

An outsider may fail to differentiate between the members of the local community in terms of class, but the members themselves do not. In the communities which I studied, locals would rank their neighbours in terms of as many as six strata, distinguishing them partly in terms of behaviour, partly in terms of wealth (4, 9). People not placed in adjacent strata rarely visit one another, while members of widely separated strata would not call at one another's homes even on 'needs occasion', that is, at serious illness or death. It is therefore important to determine the extent and character of local stratification if one is to understand the organization and process of the community life.

We can conceive of the local community as divided vertically in terms of power or influence. There is an overlap at the boundary of each of these pyramidal divisions, and the further down the community class system we go, the greater does this overlap become. The main segments reflect the principal economic and social forces operating within the community. The shopkeepers and produce dealers control credit and certain marketing facilities. Often also, they control transport and a considerable section of the locally available regular employment. They may straddle certain of the commodity or co-operative associations by providing these with necessary materials, stock feed, etc., and often occupy official positions within them. Their political sympathies are especially important, as most of the shopkeepers in the rural areas now under discussion are creole rather than Chinese.

The teachers and civil servants control another set of facilities. Those associated with the school are of a special interest to the community who feel that "Teacher's" favour or disfavour makes a lot of difference to a child's educational chances. The school actually provides certain meals, educational supplies such as books, and employment opportunities as part-time pupil teachers, and it is the focus of certain teacher-dominated voluntary associations (9). But the teachers themselves are often immigrants to the community and except for the head teacher may often remain divorced from it for years.

The head teacher occupies a different position and can hardly avoid entering into fairly close relations with the parents of his pupils. Often enough he may be acting as an incumbent for one or other of the denominations, in return for occupancy of the mission house, and thus may combine religious with educational leadership. As one of the most knowledgeable persons in the community about governmental procedure and the like, his advice may be requested on a variety of issues, and his services in this way may later

inspire him to contest elections to the parochial or island legislatures. Where there is no local J.P. available, the teacher exercises a virtual monopoly of these advisory functions with respect to the needs of citizens. Parents also try to keep on his good side as a means of recommending their children to his attention. The teacher's area of power therefore spreads outward from the school to different levels of community life, both formally through the associations, and informally through his personal influence and knowledge.

Employment opportunities for unskilled labour are controlled by government foremen and road headmen on the one hand, and by the overseers or owners of nearby properties or estates on the other. The group to which these employment opportunities directly appeal is mainly that of the young men, but also includes those older men whose farming incomes are not sufficient to meet all their obligations. The influence which these labour recruiters can exert in local affairs is inversely proportionate to their social isolation from the community; for example, the overseer of a large property is often not concerned to exert any influence beyond that required by the strict task situation, whereas the road headman who disposes of far less employment, but who may be a community native, has greater importance in the eyes of people needing employment, some of whom will often undertake to work the headman's farm on a fairly regular basis at low rates in order to procure road work from him as occasion offers.

Headmen of the J.A.S. and other farm organizations, whether those engaged under the recent Farm Recovery Scheme or those otherwise engaged on crop inspection and development, together with those locals appointed to administer hurricane relief, similarly control significant economic opportunities and enjoy corresponding power. Under the prevailing party political pattern, there tends, for any area, to be an association between these unestablished quasi-officers and one or other of the party groups; and individual careers often reveal movements from one of these jobs to another. To some extent local administration of the American farm labour recruitment programme was formerly integrated with this general area of activity.

The Church does not form a separate segment, and the priest, if resident, although his personal prestige may be great and he may sometimes act semi-officially as an electoral warden, a J.P. or in sundry other capacities, no longer controls a separate area of influence and power as before.

The principal pyramids of influence within a community are often linked up at their leadership level by informal contact between the heads. Teacher and shop-keeper may be friends, or they may avoid one another. Their spheres of operation do not directly clash, nor require co-operation, although for political or other reasons they may be drawn into open alliance or antagonism. Contra-position occurs mainly within each of these separate spheres of influence. Shop-keepers and produce dealers compete with one another. The teacher is in implicit contra-position to other quasi-official workers such

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as extension officers, J.A.S. headmen and the like. The extent to which these implicit contra-positions become explicit depends on a variety of personal and situational factors, but their latency must not be ignored. Because of this character, the structure of each segmentary sphere of influence consists in terms of loose fields of clientage and patronage, focused on the competing principals. The same thing holds, equally, where employment facilities are the values disposed.

The more important power structures operating within a community are controlled by or through local people, who are either native to or so long resident in the community as to be identified with it. For this reason the formal associations within which leadership is exercised mainly by salaried migrants, have less direct significance for the community structure than would appear on the surface. Influence and power rest with those who control economic resources and employment opportunities in the local community. But informal leadership, as distinct from economic power, is to be found among these men whose middling age and economic status arouse less envy and suspicion and whose position within the informal voluntary associations such as the cricket clubs, unregistered thrift or co-operative groups, or local political party groups is strong by popular support. Such men, although not usually occupying official positions within the commodity and development associations, attend their meetings regularly, exercising a representative function on behalf of their juniors and seniors who do not attend. They hold, as it were, a watching brief on behalf of the community.

Since positions in the local systems of segmentation and stratification are closely related, between them these principles define the basic forms and levels of community organization. Moreover, even where contra-position develops along their various lines of cleavage, these systems of stratification and segmentation provide the only mechanisms serving to integrate rural communities above the level of household organization.

The Problem of Organizing Community Support

If this account is correct, rural community structure is informal in character. Formal organization of community interest and action must therefore present something of a problem, especially to those national associations committed to working through communities as units. In this concluding section I wish to set certain organizational patterns against our model to test its utility and fruitfulness.

Without singling out any particular agency, one can generalize their organizational patterns in the field in the following terms:

"A village is or should be a community. Its leaders are the educated, better-off members, such as the teacher, J.P., parson, overseer, property owner, large shopkeeper, and the like. The village-community is as strong as its active groups. Hence to establish our Branch or programme in this village success-

fully, we must enlist the support of those persons who are the leaders of these established groups; or if no groups have yet been established, we must establish ours with those persons who would normally have been leaders of such groups."

Behind the variety of specific functions, purposes, names and forms of organization, behind the differences between Jamaica Agricultural Society Branch, Community Council, Praedial Larceny District Committee, Fédération of Women's Branch, Commodity or Co-operative Associations, and others, this is the common set of assumptions, the philosophy on which branches of national organizations are founded locally.

The serious misconceptions on which this approach is based are obvious immediately reference is made to our model of community organization. It has been shown above that the village is not normally a true community, but rather a heterogeneous collection of sectors of the various communities which border upon it. In Jamaican rural areas, villages are the organizational and distributional centres for the hinterlands they service. Consequently community councils organized on the basis of villages service artificial units. Because the village is not a community, it does not provide a sound basis for the development of a community council.

Similarly, the proposition quoted above to the effect that the village is as strong as its active groups is a combination of fallacies. Since the village is not a true community its assessment in terms of strength or weakness of community integration or sentiment is scarcely relevant. Furthermore, the activity of active groups within villages normally bears little correspondence with actual community boundaries. Leadership of the interest groups concerned, whether active or not, is normally exercised by salaried immigrants such as teachers, etc., who are often marginal to the community system of social relations. Consequently organization of village committees or community councils upon the basis of these formal associations multiplies the artificiality inherent in such structures, with consequent difficulties in enlisting or maintaining community interest and support.

In addition, it may be worth pointing out that where a community or development council is composed of representatives of voluntary associations themselves focused on specific interests, such as the Citrus Growers' Association, Boy Scouts movement, A.I.B.G.A., 4-H Clubs, J.A.S., etc., difficulties of programme construction and implementation must follow. This remains likely even if membership of all the constituent associations of such a council coincides completely with the community boundaries, and follows from the fact that representation is based on a heterogeneity of single purpose groups. As representatives of special interest groups the delegates from each of these constituent units are committed to the pursuit and support of policies favourable to the groups they represent, in so far as class-considerations are not dominant. In other words misconceptions of the nature and form of Jamaican rural

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communities, combined with mis-conceptions of the relation of formal associations to these communities, have led to artificial organizations of councils for 'communities' which are themselves artificial constructs. The difficulties such an approach imposes on effective field work by development and welfare officers are obvious (2, 5).

Since our model of community structure as an informal pattern provides the basis for these criticisms, it should also provide us with some constructive leads to the organization of community support.

Selection of the village as the *locus* of branches of national organizations and development efforts tends to bypass the large number of persons who do not live in villages, but live dispersed in the communities round about them. Consequently, if villages are retained as the centres of local branch activities and organizations, arrangements must be made to reach out beyond them into the neighbourhoods and dispersed units where so many folk live.

Normally, the folk in these hillside communities cannot be reached effectively by the methods outlined above. In the first place, physical conditions rarely permit this approach, and in the second place, the conditions of social organization reject it. Instead of thinking initially in terms of specific single-purpose organizations or associations defined in terms of interests, we must therefore think of general groupings free to develop, define and pursue their own purposes, and based on locality and common community membership.

This second consideration, taken together with our information on the informal character of local leadership, suggests that club organizations based on community boundaries might provide the most appropriate method of commencing work (6, 7, 8). It is especially important that such clubs should not be defined initially in terms of limited interests or procedures, but should be free to develop their own goals and forms. Within the club context, informal leadership can find full expression, and its capacities can be developed. The maintenance, control and organization of such clubs should remain in the hands of their members, if interest and participation is not to decline. After a period of initial experiment, during which the members find out what can be done with this new social form, it can be expected that sub-groups will tend to develop within the club, defined partly by shifting interest, partly by social ties. With their emergence, and differential pressures, the future of the club will become a matter of some concern and can be directly linked up with the future and improvement of the community as a whole. This should not be difficult, since the club is based on the community. At such a stage, it becomes possible for the local group to take an active interest through its club in certain of the formal organizations located at the nearest village, notably of course, the Development Area or Community Council. But if and when representation to these units is sought by the club, special care must be taken to ensure that the informal leaders dele-

gated to act on behalf of the club are not divested of their leadership capacities and support by formalization of their roles.

Frequently enough informal leaders have been rendered useless simply by appointment into positions of formal leadership within some community council or association branch. The reason for this is obvious. To formalize informal leadership is self-contradictory in the same way that it is self-contradictory to make formal authority informal. Formal leadership operates within a clearly defined structure and set of procedures, such as Branch or Council meetings. Informal leadership, on the other hand, can only operate in open situations lacking such defined structures and procedures, and in terms of community support based on pre-suppositions of equality and identity. Granted this, the informal leader acting as delegate for the multi-functional community club should be strictly limited to agency on its behalf, and should report back to the club his observations at the meetings attended, so that decisions of policy and action are taken by the club as a whole, and the capacity of leadership may be retained. As smaller groups within the club become differentiated in terms of interest, they should be encouraged to select their own delegates and plan their own programmes informally, and to develop informal leadership within themselves.

These suggestions seem to be implicit in our model of rural community organization.

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RESEARCH NOTE

POPULATION CHANGES AND THE RESOURCE BASE IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES

The object of this note is (a) to outline the nature and scope of the proposed research project and (b) to describe some of the techniques that will be employed in presenting and evaluating the data.

The study is comparative in nature and focuses on the patterns of spatial change in the demographic characteristics of the British West Indies. Two main questions are asked: (i) What is the nature, trend and consequence of the changing patterns? (ii) In what specific way is this changing pattern motivated by the interaction of a changing resource base and changes in the population?

Population change is emphasized, but not just the overall numerical changes. The viewpoint is that the demographic characteristics have a spatial pattern of distribution and that the quantitative patterns of occurrence and patterns of change differ significantly from area to area. There may be specific socio-economic problems functionally associated with this relative intra-spatial change quite distinct from those determined by total changes in the whole.

Essentially then, the 'where' of population changes and the 'determinants and consequences' of this 'where', form the pivotal topic of this study.

The Resource Base and its Relationship to the Problem

The why and the consequence of the 'where-aspect' of the demographic characteristics are related to the concept of a resource base and the whole question of population pressure. We need not underscore that a phenomenon becomes an actual or potential economic resource only when it is evaluated or capable of being evaluated as such by a population. However, it may be relevant to emphasize that the population itself forms part of the resource base of a nation. The numbers of people and the demographic quality of the people as reflected in such concepts as dependency ratio, labour force, literacy, life expectancy, etc., in so far as they affect the economic development and/or progress of the country, are pertinent to an analysis of the population problem of a region. In fact, population pressure is often not one of 'numbers of people' but rather of 'quality of people' (the phrase does not imply any inherent or intrinsic racial qualities but is used here purely in a descriptive demographic sense.)

We are also concerned with the resource base as understood in the popular sense. There is such a concept as the optimum distribution of population relative to economic activity. The evaluation of optimal conditions is partly de-

pendent on the criteria chosen, and is by no means an absolute concept. For our purposes, the reciprocal effects of the nature of economic development and its location relative to the distribution of characteristics of the population will be emphasized, though not to the exclusion of other relevant aspects of the problem.

The Methodology and Techniques

The general topic outlined above is a broad one. The plan is to focus on the island of Jamaica, but to bring in analogies from the demographic pattern in the other islands to support any apparently significant array of relationships that may arise out of this research. A series of special-purpose maps will be constructed to show distribution patterns and patterns of change of both economic and population factors. Where available aerial photographs will be used to increase the accuracy of the maps.

Cartographic presentation and analysis will supplement the usual statistical techniques in finding answers to one of the basic questions involved in comparative spatial analysis, namely: How is the pattern similar, and in what way does it differ from the patterns in other areas?

It is perhaps relevant to observe that the data will not be analysed in a statistical or cartographic vacuum. To arrive at some meaningful causal explanation of the patterns disclosed the population changes and the specific economic and social problems of the area under investigation will be explored from the historical and contemporary viewpoint, and also from the perspective of wider demographic and socio-economic theories and problems as applied to other areas of the world.

As this work is being carried out by one whose core background is geography, it may be worthwhile to mention that the methodological justification can be summed up by the statement that not only the observable results of the works of man, but also man himself is a geographic phenomenon. The numbers and characteristics of people differ from place to place, and thus the fact of this areal differentiation — its causes, patterns and consequences — becomes the focus of attention of the population geographer.

Roy Chung.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Theory of Economic Growth. By W. Arthur Lewis. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1955, pp. 453. Price 30s.

Professor Lewis has written an impressive treatise on economic development. He has written it, moreover, from the rather strict viewpoint of an economist, though not without a strong sense of the importance of the contributions of other disciplines. In a day when economists have shown some tendency to renounce their claims on this area of knowledge in favour of anthropologists it is refreshing to find a systematic and extended treatment of the subject which sticks fairly closely to the framework of economics. Economists certainly do not have the last word on this subject, but when what they have to say is brought together in systematic form it turns out to be an impressive body of generalizations, probably more useful to the policy-maker than what could be culled similarly from any other science.

The work, as befits a systematic treatise, is developed in an orderly framework. After an introduction in which the scope of the subject is outlined, and we are introduced to *per capita* output as the prime variable under discussion, we proceed to a rather simple discussion of the "will to economize" — developed without much reference to psychology or social psychology or any elaborate theories of learning or motivation, but still good enough for the economist's abstract purposes. A chapter on economic institutions follows, from the point of view of their impact on economic growth, and then comes an exposition of some determinants of the growth of knowledge. In these chapters there is almost inevitably a good deal of vagueness — "on the one hand this and on the other hand that" kind of thing — but this perhaps is inevitable when a mere economist tackles such lofty subjects. The core of the work is the chapter on capital (here the economist is really at home) and here comes the central proposition around which all the rest of the argument revolves — that the difference between stagnation and growth is the difference between investing, say 5 per cent and investing 12 per cent of national income. The author is well aware of course, that mere quantity hides a world of qualitative and structural differences, and he spends a great deal of time in expounding what might be called the structural problem. Nevertheless when everything is said about structure and the need for balanced growth the fact remains that the best structural reorganizations cannot overcome the fatal deficiency of sheer quantity. This is perhaps the most important message of the economist in this field: there is a certain tendency among other social sciences to rely on good advice and changed attitudes to move the mountain of poverty, and it is necessary for the economist to come along and point

to the virtue of bulldozers, or even to the vices of bulldozers and the virtue of hand shovels when there is a labour surplus!

A chapter on population and resources follows, which rather oddly includes a discussion of international relations, and the body of the work is concluded by a chapter on the role of government, which summarizes much of what has gone before. There is a charming appendix, "Is economic growth desirable", in which some doubts are expressed as to whether economic growth adds much to human happiness, but in which the author comes out in favour of it anyway, partly because freedom of choice is a more human ambition than happiness, and partly because the political and demographic dynamics of the modern world really gives us no choice in the matter!

Professor Lewis makes no claims to originality, and those who are looking for striking new theories of economic dynamics will not find them here. Lewis himself invites comparison with J. S. Mill, as the last systematic treatise on this subject, and the comparison is apt: Lewis is Mill, plus about a hundred years of economic thought and historical experience. Looked at in this way the contributions of the past hundred years seem rather meagre. All the main propositions of Lewis's work are in Mill, and most of them are in Adam Smith. What has been added is a certain sophistication about monetary and commercial policy, a better appreciation of the occasional virtues of inflation, and a more subtle view of the function of public finance, all of which stems from the Keynesian Revolution. It is my impression that the marginal school has contributed practically nothing in this area, beyond a few very obvious propositions such that if there is a true labour surplus in agriculture the marginal social cost of labour transferred out of agriculture is zero. In some ways, indeed, one feels that the theoretical framework has gone backwards since Mill. The collapse of the wage fund doctrine, for instance, has left a void in economic theory which has never been properly filled. The classical economists had a very clear, if wrong notion of what happened to the major distributional shares in the course of economic development. Lewis has no adequate discussion of this problem; he rejects the doctrine of the inevitably declining rate of profit, mainly on simple observational grounds, but one feels the absence of a clear theoretical model at this point. One feels at times also a certain lack of an adequate theory of the relative price structure. Lewis is surely wrong, for instance, in supposing that indirect taxes as compared with direct taxes of the same degree of progressivity have no impact on the incentives to earn income; this would not be true unless there is an overwhelming money illusion, which experience (e.g. of the British coal miners) would hardly confirm. It is curious that theorists in this area have never taken up Adam Smith's fascinating suggestions (in Book 1, Chapter 10 of the *Wealth of Nations*) about the impact of economic development on the relative price structure. One would like to see also a more careful attempt to classify inventions according to the labour-saving, capital-saving, land-saving

categories: this involves a theory of the impact of changed production functions on the price structure. Professor Lewis is not to be blamed however, for not including in his treatise theories which are not current, and indeed it is a virtue of this work that it points the way to certain deficiencies in the present structure.

The style of the work is clear, if a little dull, and frequently redundant; the book could have been shortened with advantage. There is also a slightly irritating tendency to attribute certain views to unnamed and undocumented "schools of thought", which raises the suspicion that straw men are being erected. However, these are minor blemishes, and Professor Lewis is to be congratulated on a volume which should certainly be required reading for all those concerned with the immense problem of the areas of poverty. He writes out of wisdom and experience in many parts of the world, as well as a theorist, and it is to be hoped that this volume will be followed by a volume of case studies.

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Yankees and Creoles. By Richard Pares. Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1956.

Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830-1865. By Philip D. Curtin. Harvard University Press, 1955.

There appears to have been recently a most welcome increase in the number of scholarly works published which set out to deal principally with the West Indies. Among these works, several are contributions to the writing of West Indian history; and two of the most substantial of these are the new books by Richard Pares and Philip Curtin.

Professor Pares is already an established authority on the history of this area. For he has given us two memorable works, his *War and Trade in the West Indies*, and the more recent *A West India Fortune*, both of which are likely to endure as classic studies in their field. His latest book, *Yankees and Creoles*, though it is less monumental, provides nevertheless a most valuable extension of our knowledge of the history of the West Indies.

The research on which this work is based was done many years ago, probably when Pares was first collecting material for his *War and Trade*. The great usefulness of the new book lies in its presentation of much evidence, both illuminating and diverting, which will enable the student to fill in more fully and with a fresh understanding the outlines established in Pares' own earlier work, and in such related studies as that by F. W. Pitman on the *Development of the British West Indies*.

In the new work, as in these earlier ones, much interest centres round the trade between the British North American colonies and the West Indies, a

trade of crucial importance in the economic development of the Old Empire. In *Yankees and Creoles*, the emphasis of the discussion falls on description rather than analysis. Pares sets out to answer, in part at least, a number of important factual questions about the trade. He asks, for instance: Who were the people engaged in it? What kinds of ships were used? Which ports took part? What were the cargoes handled? Where and of what kind were the markets for these cargoes? What was the balance of profit and loss in the trade?

Since Pares gives informative answers to each of these questions in turn, the importance of his work is obvious. Of course, not all of his answers are complete, as he points out himself. But once again, he has pioneered a field and indicated its richness. He has done more than to illustrate the wealth of information available. As always, he is interested in the significance of the facts he has assembled, and he brings to light new and vital questions still awaiting more detailed investigation. He begins his book by asking why the West Indians became passive partners in the expanding North American trade. He ends it with a short analysis of the effects of the trading activity of the North Americans on the development of their own economy, in commerce, in industry, and in the formation of capital. When more has been done to solve these complex historical problems, we shall know a great deal more not only of the economic organization of these colonies, but also of the complex and subtle inter-relations between economic development and social structure. Pares has shown the way, and there seems to be room for hope that others will soon be following in his footsteps.

Already, there are promising signs. A younger generation of historians is beginning to accumulate more facts about the history of the West Indies. In addition, the task of revising conclusions reached in earlier 'standard' works is also being undertaken. Philip Curtin's new book, *Two Jamaicas*, fits best into this second category. For, with this book, Curtin has entered a field already worked by such historians as Mathieson and Burn; and, if his book indicates anything, it is that the last word has not been said on the subject of the West Indies after emancipation, which subject is likely to remain, as it has been in the past, one of the most controversial problems in West Indian history. It is not that most of the facts discussed in Curtin's work are new, for this is not the case. Rather, he offers a new point of view, and so a re-interpretation, in which facts already known are brought into an altered focus of significance and a coherent theory of their inter-relationship is advanced.

Dr. Curtin's object is to study the history of "the origin and transference of ideas" in a period of "crisis and re-adjustment" following the emancipation of the slaves in Jamaica. He examines the circumstances and ideas of the time so as to demonstrate what was, in his opinion, the nature of the crisis. He analyses the ideas and attitudes which were available for the solution of the critical problems of the society; and he attempts to discover why these

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ideas and attitudes proved inadequate to the needs of the society. Such a formulation of the historical questions to be investigated could hardly fail to be fruitful. For it goes straight to the heart of the matter.

There are, of course, points at which it is possible to quarrel with Dr. Curtin's conceptual devices or with his general interpretation. The use of the idea of 'culture-focus', for instance, often seems to confuse rather than clarify the discussion. The white Jamaican may have been fond of arguing in 'economic' terms; but the spectacle of the white plantocracy struggling to retain its old status is not adequately described by saying that the "planters culture was focused on economics". Dr. Curtin, like many other writers, has noted how 'uneconomic' was the old plantation system in the West Indies. And a materialistic civilization is not necessarily an 'economic' one. The same kind of objections arise when the concept is used in interpreting the attitudes of the Negro towards religion. There is need for greater definition of the term and of its application.

But after these and all the other possible objections have been raised the work remains one of the greatest value. Dr. Curtin has studied a divided and unsettled society facing the need to make fundamental changes in its organization, and failing to make these changes, in part at least, because of the poverty and fixity of its governing ideas. He has shown the failure to find an efficient substitute for coercion; the failure to find an efficient integrating principle for communities sundered "by culture and racial caste, but even more by mutual ignorance"; the failure, perhaps most important of all, to face what was real instead of clinging desperately to the old stereotypes and the 'hand-me-down' ideas. He has put the Morant Bay rising in perspective as part of a cumulative process of breakdown, in essence social rather than either economic or political. His book is a considerable achievement, and marks a notable advance in the necessary task of bringing to bear upon the study of West Indian history the analytical techniques of the social sciences.

U.C.W.I.

Elsa V. Goveia.

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Vol. 5, No. 4 of *SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES* consists of one paper only, a detailed study entitled "Jamaican Revivalist Cults" by George Eaton Simpson.

Professor Simpson, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Oberlin College, Ohio, spent seven months of 1953 in Jamaica on research into the revivalist cults of West Kingston.

In the course of the study Professor Simpson worked in close collaboration with the members of the staff of this Institute.

H. D. Huggins

Director

Institute of Social and Economic Research.

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Jamaican Revivalist Cults

By

GEORGE EATON SIMPSON

PREFACE

With the exception of Martha Beckwith's *Black Roadways* (1929), very little scientific work in the fields of cultural anthropology and sociology was undertaken in Jamaica until the late 1940's. Edith Clarke and the staff of the West Indian Social Survey made a study of three villages in 1948, Joseph G. Moore did an acculturation study in the Morant Bay area in the early 1950's, and more recently ethnological investigations have been carried on by Fernando Henriques, Sidney Mintz, Yehudi Cohen, Edward Seaga, Donald Hogg, and others. Among the sociologists from abroad who have done research in Jamaica during the past few years are Leonard Broom, I. M. Stycos, J. Blake, Ira Reid, Howard S. Becker, and Andrew Lind.

The writer visited Jamaica for the first time in November, 1946, serving as a visiting lecturer in the West Indies Social Welfare Training course. The field work upon which this work is based was done in the period May 11 to December 14, 1953. Unlike the author's research project in northern Haiti in 1937, this study deals not with rural dwellers but with the inhabitants of West Kingston, a densely populated, economically depressed section at the edge of Jamaica's capital city. The decision concerning a research site was reached in part by virtue of the experiences of Professor and Mrs. M. J. Herskovits in Trinidad and Professor William Bascom in Cuba. Professor and Mrs. Herskovits found that a remote community in the north-eastern part of the island of Trinidad had no Shango worship, but the Shango cult was found in Port of Spain. Thus their expectation that African worship would occur in its purest form in districts far from the capital was not borne out by work in the field (46, p. v.). In 1951 Professor Bascom found that "Not only are African traditions found, but they are actually strongest and purest in the large urban centers of Cuba and other parts of the West Indies and South America" (5, p. 19)^a. In many parts of the Caribbean area, it seems likely that the study of acculturation, at least in religion and related fields, can be pursued more advantageously in or near urban centres than in remote rural villages or on farms.^b The main explana-

^aOn the basis of (a) Joseph G. Moore's field work on the Cumina, Revivalist, Pocomania and Revival Zion groups in the Morant Bay region, and (b) observations by Moore and Simpson while this paper was in press, it appears that African religious traditions are stronger in some rural sections of Jamaica than they are in the Kingston-St. Andrew area.

^bConcerning West Indian studies, Cumper makes this interesting observation: "It is one of the difficulties of the study of West Indian communities that they cannot be regarded as

Continued at foot of next page

tion here is that larger potential followings are available in the cities to those who are most skilled in religion, conjuring, healing and divination.

Our main concern in this study is religion, the aspect of life in which lower-class Jamaicans have had and still have the greatest interest. This "cultural focus" (41, ch. 32) is not peculiar to Jamaica, but is an emphasis found in all New World Negro populations.^a

Our research procedure consisted of obtaining as many of the data as possible by direct observation. However, this is a very time-consuming method, and much material was collected by conversation, discussion, and asking questions. The writer did not reside in West Kingston, but with the exception of perhaps thirty days during the seven months stay, he spent some time every day or night in the area or with residents of the area, and the total time so spent on some days reached ten or twelve hours. Informants included cult leaders, officers, ordinary members, and non-members of these groups living in West Kingston, as well as social scientists, police officers, physicians, social workers, lawyers, government officials, journalists, and many others who live outside the area but who have dealt with West Kingston residents. Major parts of many meetings were tape recorded.

The writer's field experience in northern Haiti near Plaisance, together with considerable experience in race relations in the United States, proved helpful in gaining *rapprochement* with West Kingston residents. After a few weeks I had access to a number of yards in this area. No promises were made that my work would be of immediate or direct assistance to anyone. Informants and others were told that I was an American teacher and that I was making a study of the less well-known religious and political organizations in Jamaica. Informants were not paid, but small contributions were made to the collections taken at meetings, small sums were given occasionally to help with the expenses of a special meeting, and a few small gifts were given, mainly at the end of my stay. Usually cigarettes were offered to informants and to the main participants in an important ceremony. Because of widespread unemployment in West Kingston, there is a good deal of street begging. I made it a point not to give to anyone who begged, saying that my personal resources were limited and that I did not wish to create hard feelings by giving to some while refusing others.

Historical works on the Great Revival of 1862 were consulted, as were materials on the Bedwardite movement and the Garveyites. Copies of the homogeneous societies and that accurate delineation of the institutions of a limited community (e.g. a rural village) does not in itself present a satisfactory basis for analysis of the societies of the larger territories. The usual techniques of anthropology are perhaps tending to concentrate attention on the country rather than the town, and on the peasant village rather than the plantation village, producing a bias in our knowledge of West Indian society as a whole, in which the urban and the 'rural proletarian' populations are important elements" (23, p. 110).

^aCurtin (24, p. 104) writes in the "Two Jamaicas" (European and African) of the period 1830-1865, "the planters' culture was focused on economics just as strongly as Negro culture focused on religion." In the past ninety years, the lower-class Jamaicans' interest in religion has not diminished materially.

laws of Jamaica on *obeah* (magic), the importation of undesirable publications, street meetings, and other subjects related to cult life were obtained. Materials were provided the author by the Central Bureau of Statistics, other government agencies, especially the Ministry of Education and Welfare, and the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the University College of the West Indies.

This study is to be thought of as basic research and is not concerned, except indirectly, with social policy.^a However, it is believed that there are many implications in our data and interpretations which it might be useful to take into account in considering programmes dealing with immediate social, economic, political, and religious questions.

The field work for this study was made during sabbatical leave from Oberlin College and with the support of a grant from the American Philosophical Society. The author is greatly indebted, as are all students of Afro-European acculturation in the New World, to Professor M. J. Herskovits for countless stimulating ideas, and also, for many specific suggestions for field work in Jamaica. Professor William R. Bascom provided many leads for this study on the basis of his own field work in Nigeria, Cuba, and the Sea Islands. Dr. Joseph G. Moore very kindly provided a briefing based on his field work in Morant Bay, Jamaica. Mr. Philip Sherlock, Vice Principal of the University College of the West Indies, gave many helpful suggestions and much encouragement to the writer during the course of the investigation. Dr. H. D. Huggins, Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, U.C.W.I., showed an interest in this project throughout my stay in Jamaica and gave assistance in many ways. Mr. Arthur Bethune's assistance in the field was most valuable, especially during the first stages of the study. Dr. Gerrit Bras has very kindly permitted me to reproduce several of his photographs. The interest and insight of Mr. Harold Courlander, Editor of *Ethnic Folkways Library*, has been greatly appreciated. Without the interest and co-operation of West Kingston revivalists, this study could not have been made; the author is grateful for their acceptance of him and his mission. Friends in Jamaica helped the author in so many ways that their contributions cannot be properly acknowledged here, but special thanks are expressed to the many friends in government offices, the University College, social welfare agencies, the Institute of Jamaica, and elsewhere for their unfailing courtesy and kind assistance on innumerable occasions.

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^aMany questions of social policy are discussed in Simey (75, chs. 5-7).

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CHAPTER I.

WEST KINGSTON

Some knowledge of lower-class urban life is essential to an understanding of the revivalist cults. This chapter provides a background on socio-economic conditions in the area within which this study was made.

THE WEST KINGSTON AREA

The area called "West Kingston" in this study includes those sections of the Kingston-St. Andrew Metropolitan area known as Hannah Town, New Town, Jones Town, Admiral Town, Denham Town, Trench Town, Rose Town, Greenwich Town, Whitfield Town, Pinfold Pen, Delacree Pen, Majesty Pen, Cockburn Pen, and Tower Hill. An accurate statement concerning the population of the sections in which we are interested cannot be given. *The Census of Jamaica, 1943* reports 103,713 persons resident in the Kingston-Port Royal parish and a population of 120,067 for the parish of St. Andrew. In a special tabulation made by the Bureau of Statistics of data obtained in the *Sample Survey of Population, 1953*, western Kingston districts have 104,420 (estimated) residents. These Sample Survey districts include parts of the Metropolitan area other than the sections with which we are concerned, an area of 30,000 or 40,000 inhabitants.^a

In 1943, 43.5 per cent of the residents of Kingston parish and 49.1 per cent of the residents of St. Andrew parish were born in those parishes respectively (14, p. xxxii). In the special tabulation referred to above, 48.8 per cent of the residents of western Kingston districts were born in the two parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew (15, Table I).^b

^aThe racial origins, based on the enumerator's observation or knowledge, of the 104,420 (estimated) residents of the Sample Survey's western Kingston districts are as follows: African origin or Coloured, 95,920; East Indian, 4,100; East Indian Coloured, 620; Chinese, 1,480; Chinese Coloured, 1,320; Syrian, 80; White, 220; Other, 120; Not stated, 560. There are very few residents other than those of African origin and Coloured in the more limited areas referred to as West Kingston in the present study.

^bThere is, of course, some migration from the Metropolitan area to country parishes, but the in-migration far exceeds the out-migration. "Approximately 36 per cent of the Kingston-born population residing in Jamaica has . . . removed to other parishes, but the movement of the population from other parishes to Kingston is the second largest which has occurred in any of the parishes in recent times, being 58,646 persons, or 56.5 per cent of the resident population . . ." (14, p. xxxii). Concerning St. Andrew parish the 1943 Census said: "Of the 120,067 persons at present resident in the parish of St. Andrew, 58,966 were born in the parish, 8,800 of those born in the parish having removed elsewhere. Because of immigration into the parish, the parish-born resident population now comprises only 49.1 per cent of the resident population, the largest increase (61,101 persons) which has been caused in any parish by the movement of population from other parts of the Island . . ." (14, p. xxxii).

MIGRATION TO WEST KINGSTON

Every day young people from the country districts arrive in the Kingston-St. Andrew Metropolitan area, and many of them gravitate to West Kingston. Some of the men come with the idea of going to the United States to work, but many are unable to pass the physical examination and some who pass are not called up for some time.^a Some men come with the hope of finding work in Kingston; others come on trucks bringing produce to the market and decide to stay in the capital. Fewer girls than men migrate to the city, but a number arrive daily on the trucks and buses from the country. They come to work as domestics, and some of them obtain a job within a week or so. Others become prostitutes or "scuffle" for a living. Many of the incoming men, finding little or no employment, soon fall into the practice of "living around," i.e., of gambling and stealing. Newcomers try to find a relative with whom they can stay, or a friend, or a stranger who is sympathetic. If they find work, they pay rent; they provide their own food, usually by buying bread, cakes, fish, etc. at the tiny shops which dot West Kingston. If they have no money, relatives, or friends, they have to "live hard" ("get their bread in some mean way").

Some of these young people return to the country after they realize the situation in the city, but most of them remain in Kingston. One informant, a man who moved to Kingston several years ago, says that nearly every week from three to five young people from the rural sections come into his neighbourhood in Trench Town. According to this informant: "After they have been in the city for a while they don't want to go back to the country. Conditions are hard in the country. Country people may be able to get bread and clothes, but it is a hard life. These people prefer the city to conditions in the country where they may plant something but have no conveyance to get crops to market unless you carry them on your head. Unless you have a lot of land and money to plant different things, it is very hard. Many young men have never had a job in the country. They come to Kingston expecting to find work. When they find nothing they are ashamed to go back. People may laugh, saying they went to Kingston for betterment, but have come back worse off than they were before they left." Another informant, a former resident of West Kingston, remarked: "The last resort is Trench Town. There they can usually find some place to sleep, perhaps in a kitchen. If they haven't a speck of a relative, the boys

^aIn a recent study of Jamaican emigration to the United Kingdom, Maunder found the emigrants to be "chiefly urban in immediate origin although many are of rural birth, indicating a two-stage migratory movement." Other conclusions of interest in this investigation are:

A net migration [to the U.K.] of the order of 10,000 a year is the current rate. The emigrants are drawn predominantly from the reproductive age groups. Family groups are rare and the number of children accompanying their parents is negligible. The proportion of males is higher than that of females. In educational attainment and in occupational skill the emigrants are above the island average. In economic status they seem to represent a central group, both the poorest and the best-off being excluded (55, p. 56).

sleep in the markets that are open all night, especially in Redemption and Coronation Markets. These two markets are closed only twenty-four hours per week—from midnight on Saturday until Sunday midnight. The other markets close at 6 p.m. When Redemption and Coronation are closed, the men sleep on the sidewalks near the markets. During the day on Sunday they go to the seaside, or, if they have clean clothes, to Hope Gardens, or they just wander about the city."

ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC LIFE IN WEST KINGSTON: OCCUPATIONS, INCOME,
UNEMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING

The districts comprising western Kingston in the *Sample Survey of Population, 1953* show the following distribution of occupations of the working population, 14 years of age and older: (15, Table V)

Primary Occupations (farmer, farm labourer, fisherman, lumberman, quarryman, etc.)	1,080
Owners; Managers; Officials (large retail or wholesale concerns, construction and manufacturing concerns, senior officials in government, etc.)	220
Crafts; Production Processes; Etc. (brick mason, butcher, baker, painter, plumber, electrician, tailor, carpenter, dressmaker, etc.)	14,840
Sales Occupations (sales person in store, small shop-keeper, bar-keeper, higgler (4,120), etc.)	8,400
Clerical and Related Occupations	2,440
Professional Occupations	980
Transportation Occupations (sailor, teamster, longshoreman, baggageman, fireman, truck or tractor driver, chauffeur, etc.)	2,800
Service Occupations (dry cleaner, launderer, cook, barber, waitress, yard boy, janitor, street cleaner, etc.)	10,320
Unskilled General Labourers	3,560
Occupation Not Stated	560
Total	45,200

This distribution of occupations is much wider, and the better-paid occupations are much more strongly represented, than is the case in the sections of West Kingston under discussion in the present study. Many of the men in the area we are considering are unemployed or under-employed, and some have never had regular employment. A large majority of the other men are engaged in low-paid, unskilled or semi-skilled work. The overwhelming majority of the gainfully employed women of the area we studied are engaged in domestic service, higgling, and shop-keeping. Men and women who are not employed "scuffle" for a living.

Of the 45,000 persons in the districts constituting western Kingston in

month. In Cockburn Pen, 160 rooms in the Emergency Buildings, constructed in 1948, rent for 6 shillings each, while the 120 rooms in the Development and Housing Buildings of 1950, have a rental of 8 shillings. The rent per room in the Trench Town and Denham Town schemes is 12 shillings per month. Those who take lots in Tower Hill pay a rental of 2 shillings a month. Central Housing Authority makes loans of £55 (£50 in materials and £5 in cash), and C.H.A. carpenters give instructions on constructing simple houses, mainly of wattle and daub. Repayment of the government loan covers a twenty-year period at a monthly payment of 8 shillings, including the 2 shillings land rental. Some participants in this scheme have succeeded, some have failed. Among the latter are some who "sold" their land to unsuspecting persons. Tower Hill plans call for a Community Centre, playing fields, churches, and schools. Provision has been made for community sanitary facilities—showers, baths, and sewers, but the residents are expected to put up their own pit latrines.

Cockburn Pen, Majesty Pen, and Tower Hill together are schemes intended to rehouse the squatters from West Kingston. Many of the 2,000 persons whose names are on the waiting list for rooms in Trench Town refuse to go to Cockburn Pen and Majesty Pen, saying that they are too far from the city.

There are no government housing schemes, or squatters, in Rose Town, Greenwich Town, New Town, Jones Town, Admiral Town, Hannah Town, Pinfold Pen, or Whitfield Town.

The Trench Town housing scheme, west of Central Road, has flush toilets, but there are none of these toilets east of Central Road. People living east of Central Road get water for cooking, drinking, and bathing by begging it of friends west of Central Road or at Boys' Town, or by going to the pipe in May Pen Cemetery south of Spanish Town Road. There is a pump in the section north of Boys' Town, but in the latter part of 1953 it was not working.

In the area from Boys' Town north to Seventh Avenue, between Central Road and King Street, most of the residents are squatters. The land in this section up to Fourth Avenue has been reserved for Boys' Town, but at the end of 1953 it had been impossible to get squatters off the land from Second Avenue to Fourth Avenue.

Other sections of Trench Town of the same type as that north of Boys' Town are: (a) Third Avenue on the north, West Road on the east, Spanish Town Road on the south, and McGregor Fruit Stand on the West, a section which is less hidden than the one north of Boys' Town and which includes some leaseholders and many squatters; (b) Eighth Street on the south, Fourteenth Street on the north, Greenwich Street on the west, and West Road on the east (the southern part of this section has better houses than the northern part but there is a government standpipe at the northwest corner where water can be obtained), a section comprised of leaseholders

and squatters; and (c) a section, containing many squatters, north of Tenth Street, between West Road and Central Road.

The majority of those who rent rooms from the C.H.A. are in arrears on their rent, and, in 1953, some were over a year behind in their payments. (In Trench Town and Denham Town, a year in arrears means £7. 4s.—in a few instances £30 is owed.) Some tenants have been ejected, but evictions have been on a small scale because of widespread unemployment.

In 1953 there were still several tent colonies in West Kingston, e.g., north of Spanish Town Road near St. Joseph's Road in Delacree Pen, off West Road on Fourth or Fifth Avenue in Trench Town, etc. These colonies were established after the hurricane of August, 1951 as temporary quarters for those whose homes had been destroyed. Some families had lived in tents for two years; others had come in more recently although a tent was supposed to be removed when its occupants found other housing. A wash house and a cook house were provided for the families at each colony.

West Kingston's Dependency-Begging Sub-Culture

In many cities the lowest rent area, inhabited by the economically poorest segment of the population, is adjacent to the main business district, and Kingston is no exception to the rule. Writing of the urban slum wherever it is found Gilmore remarks: "People live there because they cannot live elsewhere. It is a settling basin for economic failures and for persons who make their livelihood by means which are outlawed and socially outcast. Among migrants to the city it is the place of first residence for persons ill-equipped to cope with life in the city and for persons who are temporarily stranded" (33, p. 136). Residents of slum areas include, among others, those reared in the underworld and those born elsewhere but who have been forced out of organized society. The slum is both a reservoir for the accumulation of technical knowledge related to the anti-social occupations and a training centre for recruits for these occupations. Gilmore points out that children growing up in these neighbourhoods take to the underworld occupations as naturally as the children in mill towns and fishing villages take to the occupations of their parents. Such children tend to be isolated from the standards of socially approved occupations and to be exposed to a dependency-begging sub-culture with its own distinctive standards (33, p. 170). Not all of West Kingston is a slum area, but a number of its neighbourhoods are characterized by a dependency-begging type of sub-culture (76, p. 198).

FAMILY LIFE IN WEST KINGSTON

The 1943 Census classification of the marital status of Jamaica's population 15 years of age and over is shown in the following table.

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF THE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

Conjugal Condition	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All conjugal conditions	784,436	100.0	371,230	100.0	413,206	100.0
Single	392,507	50.0	188,938	50.9	203,569	49.3
Married	211,865	27.0	103,525	27.9	108,340	26.2
Common-law	142,922	18.2	70,896	19.1	72,026	17.4
Widowed and divorced	37,142	4.8	7,871	2.1	29,271	7.1

Source: Census of Jamaica, 1943. Statement 4, p. xlvii.

The following distribution of marital status was recorded in the districts comprising western Kingston in the Sample Survey of Population, 1953.

MARITAL STATUS OF POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER BY SEX IN WESTERN KINGSTON

Marital Status	Total	Male	Female
Married	16,080	7,360	8,720
Widowed	2,500	540	1,960
Never married	51,080	20,400	30,680
Not stated	1,340	800	540
	71,000	29,100	41,900

Source: Sample Survey of Population, 1953. Special tabulation, January 12, 1956, Table IV.

Of interest in considering the marital status of Jamaica's population is the sex ratio. The 1943 Census reported 937 males per 1,000 females for the total population, but a ratio of 898 for the population 15 years of age and over. *The Sample Survey of Population, 1953* reports 45,480 males and 58,940 females for its western Kingston districts, a sex ratio of 771. The sex ratio for the population 15 years of age and older for these districts was 694. However, this Survey estimates that in the age classes 15-39 there were 19,240 males and 29,520 females. Presumably the preponderance of females indicated by a sex ratio of 651 has some influence on marital status in these districts.

In a recent study, Henriques distinguishes four types of "domestic groups" in Jamaica: the Christian Family; Faithful Concubinage; the Maternal, or Grandmother, Family; and the Keeper Family. Only a small minority of the domestic groups in West Kingston are "Christian Families." Faithful concubinage (common law marriages) are recognized for such legal purposes as children's inheritance and maintenance. The Maternal, or Grandmother, Family, the only one of these domestic groups lacking cohabitation, is so named because the grandmother, sister, or other female relative plays the role of the father and at times that of the mother. The Keeper Family is a temporary union (36, pp. 105 ff). Dom Basil Matthews points out that among lower-class West Indians "marriage is deemed impracticable . . . unless it is backed up by a considerable rise in the socio-economic status of the non-legal partners" (54, p. 116).

Hewitt and Lightbourne give a sixfold classification of Kingston families by districts, i.e.: Upper class districts; Middle class respectable areas; Strug-

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gling lower middle class areas; Respectable poor areas; Tough areas; and Squatters (47, p. 1). Only the last four types apply to West Kingston.

Observations showing insight into family life in Kingston's "tough" areas, i.e., Spanish Town Road, parts of Trench Town, Cockburn Pen, the lands of Lower Kingston, etc., are presented by Hewitt and Lightbourne:

Here the father in the home is the exception rather than the rule. His role is usually that of the visitor to the home for sexual purposes. Some do make an effort to assume financial responsibility for their families, but... often their contributions are spasmodic. Overcrowding is a serious problem. It is not uncommon to see as many as three adults and six children occupying an 8 x 10 room. There is no privacy in the home and sex practices start at a very early age. The incidence of communicable disease such as tuberculosis, etc., is markedly higher in these areas. Sanitary amenities are few and there is an almost complete absence of facilities for recreation. In spite of these facts, rentals are comparatively high, ranging from £1 to £2 per month. School attendance suffers—sometimes because the parents cannot find food or clothes, sometimes because there is no sort of discipline in the home, and the child... does not go to school because he does not want to. In the rural areas, the child is expected to help in the fields, fetch water, etc., but in the city they have a great deal of time on their hands, and consequently often get into mischief, which... frequently ends in the hospitals and juvenile courts. The father is not always welcome in these homes and is apt to be feared rather than loved. If the family has been a fairly stable one, and he deserts the home, the mother in this class is more likely to sue for maintenance of the children. (She has no rights under the law for maintenance for herself.) If he has been ordered to pay maintenance by the court, one of the children is usually deputed to collect the money on pay day at his work place. When this money cannot be spared, or he is unwilling to shell out, the unfortunate child is showered with abuse from his father and like as not, punished by his mother when he returns empty-handed. Children lose many hours of school time trying to collect maintenance from their fathers, or as it is colloquially termed 'water rate.' It is so difficult in many cases to collect the money after court orders are made, that many women give up the struggle after a time—and of course, the child goes without. The women form the large core of untrained domestic servants, higglers and the like.... (47, p. 4).

A lower-class woman may have had children by a number of men, and a given household may include the "outside" children of one or both persons as well as their own offspring. While such families are weak on the conjugal side, some kinship feelings are strong.^a All observers of the lower class in Jamaica have noted the importance of the mother in family life, but no one has summed up the situation more succinctly than Henriques:

An important characteristic of the lower-class domestic groups is the dependence on the mother or mother-substitute. This is found in its most conspicuous form in the maternal or grandmother groups. The usual period of maternal dependence is enlarged from that of childhood to include the greater part of adult life. The important place given to the mother by members of the lower class is further intensified by the relatively greater freedom possessed by women in this class, as evinced by the institutions of Faithful Concubinage and the Maternal Family. A daughter can look for protection and care for herself and her children to the latter group. A son will tend to identify his mother with the functions of the father for when the latter is present there is equality between the man and the woman. Further evidence of the independence of women, which tends to crystallize in the functions of a father-substitute is seen in the profession of the 'higgler'... The psychological implications of this type of family situation cannot be overlooked (36, p. 163).

^aEdith Clark, Lecture on "Parent-Child Relations in Jamaica," Institute of Jamaica, May 27, 1953.

Family life among the squatter group of West Kingston is almost non-existent. Most of their shacks and huts are found on government lands, but some have squatted on private lands. According to Hewitt and Lightbourne, a survey in 1951 showed that approximately 2,000 families with a total population of almost 8,000 were living as squatters. Some of these people had been re-housed and their shacks had been demolished by 1953, but there were still many squatters living in nearly all of the undeveloped areas of Trench Town. Hewitt and Lightbourne say:

Any form of family life is impossible. They are really birds of passage. There is lack of every amenity of civilised life. Very few have beds or even mats on which to sleep. There are few sanitary conveniences and water supplies. Their clothing is ragged and scanty... Meals depend on the earnings for the day and usually consist of sugar and water, bread, a few crackers. When funds are available, [there are] a few dumplings made mostly of cornmeal, sweet potatoes, callalu, yams. There is more or less a complete absence of proteins. If there are no earnings, they must, of necessity, go without, beg, steal, or scrounge among dustbins and garbage boxes for a scrap of something to eat. Gambling and traffic in ganja are common. One sees many pregnant women. Some of the older children are sent to relatives, where possible, but the younger ones are usually kept with the mothers. The children have no parental control. They rarely go to school. It is the same old story, no clothes and no food. (47, p. 6).

EDUCATION

The following table shows the standards of education of the Jamaican population in 1943.

STANDARD OF EDUCATION OF THE JAMAICAN POPULATION 10-24 YEARS OF AGE AND 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1943

Standard of Education	10-24 years of age Per cent	25 years of age and over Per cent
Elementary Lower	19.4	15.5
Elementary Middle	33.6	33.1
Elementary Upper	42.3	44.7
Practical Training	1.2	1.2
Secondary Lower	2.2	2.0
Secondary Upper	1.1	2.0
Preprofessional	.2	1.0
Professional	..	.5

Source: Census of Jamaica, 1943, p. lxii.

In 1953, the Sample Survey of Population found the following standard of education of the estimated population ten years of age and older in its western Kingston districts (See first table, p. 331).

In a communication of January 11, 1956, a Bureau of Statistics official remarked that "the table depicts a somewhat high performance by the people in the Area [the Sample Survey's western Kingston districts], but this may partially be due to the fact that the proportion of persons in western Kingston who were not born in that area is so high, and it is generally believed that it is the more educationally equipped persons who tend to migrate." Since, for the most part, the sections referred to as "West Kingston" in the present study constitute the most economically depressed

STANDARD OF EDUCATION OF ESTIMATED POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER IN
SAMPLE SURVEY OF POPULATION, 1953 DISTRICTS IN WESTERN KINGSTON

Standard of Education	10 years of age and older	Per cent
1. Elementary Lower	2,360	2.97
2. Elementary Middle	12,300	15.52
3. Elementary Upper	52,520	66.27
4. Practical Training	1,200	1.51
5. Secondary Lower	1,980	2.50
6. Secondary Upper	1,940	2.44
7. Preprofessional	380	.48
8. Professional	140	.17
9. Combination of 1 or 2 or 3 and 4	320	.43
10. Combination of 6 or 5 and 4	120	.15
11. No formal education	4,640	5.86
12. Not stated	1,340	1.70
	79,240	100.00

Source: Sample Survey of Population, 1953. Special tabulation, January, 1956, Table III.

parts of the larger area included in the Sample Survey's western Kingston districts, it is assumed that their standard of education is lower than that shown above.

The following figures on enrolment and attendance in 1952 in schools located in West Kingston were provided by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare:

SCHOOL	ENROLMENT	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
			(288 BEST SESSIONS)
All Saints	619	478	493
Central Branch	973	830	877
Chetolah Park	549	374	461
Denham Town	1,182	735	896
Ebenezer	581	447	410
Greenwich	1,162	899	889
Jones Town	566	483	454
St. Alban's		Closed during 1952	
St. Anne's	823	621	628
Trench Town	1,353	977	1,014
Whitfield Town	600	491	478
Total	8,408	6,326	6,600

It will be seen that the average attendance of the enrolled pupils in these ten schools was approximately 75 per cent.^a We have no data on the

AGE	PER CENT AT SCHOOL	AGE	PER CENT AT SCHOOL
5-24	39.15	13	87.43
5	9.74	14	65.20
6	15.95	15	20.08
7	56.49	16	8.69
8	81.49	17	6.25
9	87.51	18	3.87
10	89.22	19	2.63
11	90.71	20-24	.61
12	98.38		

^aThe 1943 Census figures on the percentage distribution of the school population 5-24 years of age by specified ages are interesting. The Census report warns that "the expression

Continued at foot of next page

proportion of school-age children living in West Kingston in 1952-53 who were not enrolled in school, but unquestionably there are thousands of such children.

An aspect of the educational situation in West Kingston of interest here is the presence of a number of infant schools (unrecognized).

LIST OF INFANT SCHOOLS IN ST. ANDREW (UNRECOGNIZED)^a

Names of Teachers	Addresses of Schools	Enrolment	Daily Attendance	Age of Pupils
Miss E. Nangle	7 Eighth Street, Whitfield Town	40	25	3 yrs. upwards
Mrs. Mary Edwards	16 East Avenue, Greenwich Town	50	40	" " "
Mrs. B. Brisset	29 Sixth Street, Greenwich Town	50	50	" " "
Miss L. Brown	6 Raphael Avenue	30	30	" " "
Mrs. G. R. Hall	23 Maxfield Avenue	26	26	" " "
Mrs. Lucille Waite	54 East Avenue, Greenwich Town	60	54	" " "
Miss A. Mitchell	42 East Avenue, Greenwich Town	48	28	" " "
Miss C. Kennedy	17 Ninth Avenue, Greenwich Town	50	35	" " "
Mrs. I. Johnson	16 White Street, Rose Town	38	25	" " "
Mrs. K. Hibbert	11 Duff Street, Rose Town	93	93	" " "
Mr. R. B. Crutchley	26 Broadway Lane, Trench Town	85	68	" " "
Miss D. C. Kelly	35 Metcalf Street, Denham Town	250	189	" " "
Mr. T. M. Walker	1D Nelson Street, Denham Town	50	29	" " "
Mr. P. C. Johnson	91 North Street, Denham Town	115	90	" " "
Mrs. F. Brown	113 West Street, Kingston	120	106	" " "
Miss Ruby Cowen	62 Beeston Street, Kingston	98	79	" " "
Total		1,203	967	" " "

Miss Kelly's Infant School, the largest listed, was started in January, 1949 with twenty pupils. None of these schools is well equipped, e.g., Miss Kelly reported in February, 1953 that "nearly 75 infants stand, off and on."

Although some of these untrained teachers do a very poor job, their schools appear to be meeting, to some extent, needs which were not being

^a Information on these schools was provided by the Education Office on November 14, 1953.

'school attendance' does not imply that during the period for which the figures apply, those who reported school attendance did in fact, attend school." Many "merely regarded themselves as attending school, not having yet decided apparently to leave school, although for one reason or another they did not attend during any of the four months at the end of 1942" According to the Census summary on school attendance during the last four months of 1942, "more than 75% of the children between the ages of 8 and 13 have reported school attendance ..." (14, p. lix.) G. E. Cumper (22, p. 79) writes: "... over the four months from September to December, 1942, the average child only attended, on his own or his parents' testimony, two-thirds of the time; so that a truer figure of attendance, taking into account both those who did not go to school at all, and the irregularity of attendance of those who did, would be about fifty per cent."

met otherwise. In 1953, the Government gave no financial support to these schools; the teachers solicited funds and teaching materials wherever they could to keep the schools going.

Recreation

Despite the efforts of Boys' Town, the Y.W.C.A. branch in Trench Town, and the boys' and girls' clubs organized by the Island Youth Council, recreational facilities and programmes are notable by their absence in West Kingston. There are motion picture theatres in the area for those who can afford them; for the older children who cannot afford this entertainment, leisure-time activities consist largely of fighting, gambling, sex adventures, gossiping and arguing, sleeping, and roaming around. Adults have about the same range of possibilities available, plus religious meetings, political rallies, and Ras Tafari activities.

With some appreciation of the socio-economic context within which the revivalist cults are found, we turn now to an examination of religious organizations in Jamaica.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN JAMAICA

Early Missionary Work

For some time after Britain acquired Jamaica in 1655, little effort was made to Christianize the slaves. On this point Phillippo says:

For upwards of a hundred years after Jamaica became an appendage of the British Crown, scarcely an effort was made to instruct the slaves in the great doctrines and duties of Christianity; and although, in 1696, at the instance of the mother country, an Act was passed by the local Legislature, 'directing' that all slave-owners should instruct their Negroes, and have them baptized, 'when fit for it', it is evident, from the very terms in which the Act was expressed, that it was designed to be, as it afterwards proved, a dead letter—a mere political manoeuvre, intended to prevent the interference of the parent state in the management of the slaves (66, p. 267).

Planters in the West Indies tended to oppose the preaching of the Christian gospel to the slaves because of their fear that it would make them difficult to manage and give them ideas of revolt and freedom. According to Tannenbaum, the argument that Christian doctrine would produce more obedient and docile slaves made little impression on the plantation owners (89, p. 82).

The Moravian Church was the first Missionary Society to start work in Jamaica, when three missionaries arrived on December 7, 1754 and began to preach to the slaves on Bogue Estate in St. Elizabeth (20, p. 24). This pioneer mission work was soon followed by missionary efforts,^a but there was no widespread missionary teaching either by the Established Church or the dissenters until the 1820's (24, p. 34).

The Early Afro-Christian Cults

Curtin dates the Afro-Christian cults in Jamaica from the end of the American Revolutionary period, when several hundred United Empire Loyalists left the United States for Jamaica. Some of these newcomers brought slaves who had been converted to Christianity and in Jamaica they became "unofficial missionaries" (24, p. 32).

George Lisle, a freedman who had belonged to a Baptist planter in Virginia, came to Kingston in 1783. In the main, his procedures were orthodox, but another type of congregation was led by George Lewis, an African who had been taken to Virginia as a slave. Lewis rejected orthodox Christianity and diffused a more African variety as he peddled and preached in the south-west part of the island. Other variations began with sections

^aIn 1815, the Assembly unanimously resolved at its next meeting to consider the state of religion among the slaves, "and carefully investigate the means of diffusing the light of genuine Christianity, divested of the dark and dangerous fanaticism of the Methodists which has been attempted to be propagated, and which, grafted on the African superstitions, and working on the uninstructed minds and ardent temperament of the negroes, has produced the most pernicious consequences to individuals, and is pregnant with imminent danger to the community" (32, p. 331).

of Lisle's following as George Gibb, Moses Baker, and other subordinates in the "leader system" founded their own groups. In turn the classes formed by these men to impart religious instruction split into new cult groups (24, p. 32).

The Native Baptists were without serious competition for forty years. During this period, according to Curtin, "a reinterpretation of Christianity was created, organized, and spread throughout the island. By 1830 the doctrine and organization of the Native Baptists had become a thoroughly integrated part of Negro culture—another religion competing with the Christianity of the European missionaries" (24, p. 34).

The Official Missionary Movement, 1820-1860

Once the official missionary movement got underway it gained members until the middle 1840's and then lost from a quarter to a half of those members by 1865. As Curtin shows, this decline had both secular and religious causes. Missionaries were favourably regarded because they were the first whites to take an interest in the problems of Negroes and because the missionary movement was associated with emancipation. However, in their attempts to provide religious satisfaction, the orthodox religious leaders had to face the competition of the Afro-Christian cults. These groups had not dissolved with the coming of freedom, and in 1860 the Native Baptists were stronger than European orthodoxy. On the secular side, missionaries opposed African marriage customs and Negro festivals, and when drumming and shell-blowing were made illegal soon after emancipation, the general Negro distrust of whites spread to the missionaries. With the passing of time those of African descent tended to prefer ministers of their own colour, and class-leaders and Baptist-trained local ministers took many members from the missionary churches to establish their own cults (24, p. 168).

The Great Revival of 1861

Jamaica was swept by an emotional religious revival in 1861-62. At first, the Great Revival delighted many of the missionaries and ministers of the established Protestant faiths. A missionary at Brownsville gave this account of his experience during the early part of the revival:

During the first week we were in the church night and day, and could only snatch short intervals of repose. The whole family, including children, slept at the church. During last week the intense excitement which existed at first had in great part subsided, and our morning and evening services were conducted with perfect quietness and decorum. I preach at every meeting, and the people appear to listen with profound attention, not only to my discourses, but to the stirring prayers and addresses of the new converts. They are indeed seasons of reviving to all of us. The most intelligent portion of the congregation, and those whose prayers are most spiritual and impressive, were not prostrated. Generally, those who were stricken down had been living in ignorance and open sin. Yet God made these prostrations, like the miracles of our Saviour and His Apostles, the means of awakening the whole community, and spreading universal consternation; so that they have mightily advanced the work of conversion and reformation (13, p. 121).

Congregations increased rapidly, as did the demand for prayer meetings and regular worship. Reverend Phillippo, a Baptist missionary, found that there were "... demands on the part of the converts for private Christian instruction, and by the multitude generally, both in town and country, for multiplied prayer-meetings and the regular worship of God—services that were conducted in streets and lanes, class-houses and public thoroughfares in general." He observed also that there was an earnest desire everywhere for "the possession of religious books and tracts, but especially to read, understand; and possess the word of God." According to Mr. Phillippo's biographer, "the testimony of nearly all the ministers of every denomination was that the revival was a real blessing and a permanent good." He quotes Phillippo on the salutary effects of the revival as follows: "It was like a tempest passing over, and with one blast purifying the atmosphere, and calling into new life a thousand beauties over the Christian landscape. It was, indeed, a dispensation which, with all its attendant evils, there are few ministers or churches who would not wish for its recurrence. It gave a higher tone of piety to the churches generally, it excited attention, induced prayer and unwonted zeal. In one word, it was an awakening from spiritual death" (91, p. 311, 314).

Not all of Jamaica's clergy shared Phillippo's favourable view of the Great Revival. W. J. Gardner wrote:

In 1861, there had been a very remarkable religious movement known as 'the revival'. It commenced among the Moravians, and gradually extended to all parts of the island. Like a mountain stream, clear and transparent as it springs from the rock, but which becomes foul and repulsive as impurities are mingled with it in its onward course, so with this most extraordinary movement. In many of the central districts of the island the hearts of thoughtful and good men were gladdened by what they witnessed in the changed lives and characters of people for whom they long seemed to have laboured in vain; but in too many districts there was much of wild extravagance and almost blasphemous fanaticism. This was especially the case where the native Baptists had any considerable influence. Among these, the manifestations occasioned by the influence of the Myalmen... were very common. To the present time, what are called revival meetings are common among these people (32, p. 465).

A recent scholarly appraisal of the Great Revival is of great importance to the study of contemporary religious cults in Jamaica. Curtin says:

In the early days, the new convert was usually struck prostrate on the church floor; but as the movement progressed other manifestations were introduced, and these bothered the missionaries. There were oral confessions, trances and dreams, 'prophesying,' spirit-seizure, wild dancing, flagellation, and mysterious sexual doings that were only hinted at in the missionary reports. One missionary accepted the explanation of a follower that two different spirits were taking possession of the converts—the Spirit of Christ and another, diabolical spirit trying to undo the Divine Work. But there was no getting around it: *the Great Revival had turned African. It became more and more a mixture of myalism and Christianity, ending as a permanent addition to the Afro-Christian cults.* The revivalists were disowned by those who initiated the movement. The immense congregations of 1861 dwindled away, leaving the missionary churches at the lowest ebb since their decline began (24, p. 171). [Emphasis mine].

Present day Jamaican revivalist cults are descended from the Native Baptists and the Afro-Christian cults of more than a century and a half ago.

Bedwardism

The revivalist movement in Jamaica was greatly influenced by the famous leader, Alexander Bedward (1859-1930). Bedward, an uneducated worker on the Mona estate, attended Providence Wesleyan Church at Matilda's Corner before shifting to a chapel in Papine Pasture. When the founder of this chapel, H. E. S. Woods, an American, returned to Spanish Town, Bedward became his successor. During the thirty years (1891-1921) of his ministry, Bedward built up an enormous following and Bedwardite groups were organized throughout Jamaica. Bedward was an effective speaker, but he was especially noted for his healing ability. Although his healing techniques included singing, praying, Bible reading, and the laying on of hands, special emphasis was placed on the allegedly curative powers of consecrated water from the Hope River near August Town. The sick came from all parts of the island to be cured, and many who were not ill at the moment took away bottles filled with the highly prized water. Bedwardism was a powerful stimulant to revivalism in Jamaica, and, although the number of Bedwardites today is small, its influence is still evident.^a Bedward himself spent the last nine years of his life in the Asylum.^b

The Present Situation

Eventually Jamaica became overchurched. In 1942 J. M. Davis concluded that "the multiplicity of church denominations and the overlapping of their work is a basic obstacle to the growth of the Christian movement in Jamaica. . . . Jamaica is, or has been, well evangelized. Several strong church groups and missions, well supplied with men and funds, have worked faithfully for many generations in this small island with its limited population. Churches and chapels have been provided in almost every valley and almost every hamlet of the island. While recently a modern paganism has arisen, with a recrudescence of African superstitions, Jamaica is probably better church and 'Christianized' than some parts of the world more commonly known as 'Christian'" (25, p. 39).

A symposium issued in 1951 by the Jamaica Christian Council provides the following data concerning congregations and personnel of most of the Protestant churches.

^aThe vowing service on the night before a baptismal ceremony which is reported in the chapter on "Religious and Magical Rituals in West Kingston" is obviously based on a Bedwardite rite (11, p. 28).

^bIn 1920, Bedward asserted that he was Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and said that he would ascend like Elijah in a chariot of fire at 10 a.m. on December 31. He promised that he would descend three days later when he would carry the elect with him to Heaven. Then fire would rain down from the clouds and destroy the whole world. The "chariot" was a specially constructed chair equipped with white cushions. Bedward sat in this chair in a white robe and turban. He postponed his flight from 10 in the morning until 12, from 12 until 3, and from 3 until 10. Finally he told the five thousand white-dressed followers who were with him that he had received word from the Almighty that he was to postpone his ascension until the end of the [next] year, although, he said, he might fly away in April. Then he ordered the people to return to their homes. He was arrested on a lunacy charge, convicted, and sent to the Asylum. See *The Gleaner*, December 31, 1920, p. 3, and January 3, 1921, p. 3; and, *The Jamaica Mail*, November 11, 1930.

Anglican: 72 clergy, 120 settled churches, 128 mission stations.

Baptist: nearly 50 ministers, over 200 churches.

Church of God: 6 missionaries, 80 congregations with one pastor for each 3 or more congregations.

Congregational: 11 ordained ministers, nearly 40 churches.

Disciples of Christ: 5 missionaries, 7 other ordained pastors.

Methodist: no information given on number of clergy and churches.

Moravian: 15 missionaries and ministers, 18 main stations with outstations and meeting houses.

Presbyterian: native ministry of about 30, assisted by a dozen missionaries from the mother Church of Scotland, over 100 congregations and out-stations in Jamaica and Grand Cayman.

Salvation Army: 80 evangelical centres and 6 social centres.

Society of Friends: 13 meetings for worship (20, p. 1-36).

Jamaica's 1943 population of 1,237,063 was classified by religious denominations in the following way (14, p. 140.)

All Religions 1,237,063.

Anglican	350,311	Pentecostal	4,907
Baptist	318,665	Evangelical Assn.	4,540
Methodist	109,446	Pocomania	4,230
Presbyterian	92,975	Hindu	4,043
Roman Catholic	70,535	Friends	4,009
Moravian	50,207	Not specified	3,856
No religion	49,094	Plymouth Brethren	3,079
Church of God	43,560	Bible Student	1,789
Adventist	27,402	Jewish	1,277
Other religions	26,016	Mission	1,108
Congregationalist	20,730	Bedwardite	332
Non-denominational	19,475	Confucian	303
Salvation Army	13,591	Christian Science	187
Christian	5,889	Buddhist	95
Brethren	5,412		

We have stated elsewhere our belief that the figure for the Pocomania group "is very likely an undercount because the term Pocomania is not acceptable to most revivalists, and because many revivalists regard themselves as Baptists" (81, p. 2).^a Attention should be called also to the fact that almost 100,000 persons are reported in the categories: No religion, Non-denominational, Not specified, and Other religions. No doubt many of these individuals have at least part-time connections with revivalism. The 1943 Census lists 203 Pocomanians for Kingston and Port Royal, and 299

^aHenriques writes that the Census estimate is, in his opinion, "a serious under-rating of its actual strength" (36, p. 78). See footnotes below (p. 339).

for St. Andrew; a total of 502 for the Kingston-St. Andrew Corporate Area.^a The present writer estimates that there are at least 3,000 faithful Revivalist-Pocomanian devotees in West Kingston alone, and that two or three times that number of persons are significantly involved in the total Revival Zion-Pocomania-Obeah complex in that area.^b

The following table shows the religion of the residents ten years of age and older in the Sample Survey's western Kingston districts in 1953.

RELIGION OF THE 79,240 (ESTIMATED) RESIDENTS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER IN
SAMPLE SURVEY OF POPULATION, 1953 DISTRICTS IN WESTERN KINGSTON

Anglican	18,300	No religion	2,520
Roman Catholic	14,540	Presbyterian	2,220
Baptist	14,120	Not stated	1,660
Other Denominations	7,120	Moravian	1,200
Church of God	6,960	Salvation Army	740
Methodist	6,220	Congregationalist	660
Seventh Day Adventist	2,980		
Total			79,240

Source: Sample Survey of Population, 1953, Special tabulation, January, 1956, Table VII. It should be remembered that the Sample Survey's western Kingston districts constitute a considerably larger area than the sections referred to in the present study as "West Kingston." See preceding paragraph for comments on the probability of an under-enumeration of revivalists. Undoubtedly many revivalists and persons who are influenced by revivalism are included under "Baptist," "Other Denominations," "No religion," "Not Stated," and, perhaps, under other headings.

Typology of Religious Groups

Cults should be viewed as part of the whole range of religious organizations. Using two criteria, inclusiveness of membership and the degree of

^aI counted approximately 150 persons at one meeting. Of course, not all of these individuals were members, but nearly all were interested enough to sit or stand for several hours during the service. The group just referred to had 80 names on its roll. On many Sunday nights while on the way to a meeting in West Kingston, I have driven or walked past dozens of Revivalist-Pocomania meetings with from 10 to 200 persons in attendance at each assemblage.

^bThe Census of 1943 contains this warning: "It is believed that most of the religious denominations showing the largest number of adherents have considerably less numbers on their church membership. This is due, in part, to the fact that children are reported as belonging to the denomination of their parents although large numbers of them would not be registered members. Again, it is known that considerable numbers of spasmodic churchgoers favour a particular denomination but are in the main, not registered members of a church. The wide discrepancy between persons actually on church registers and the census figures does not therefore, necessarily reflect any inaccuracy of the census, in which the denomination most favoured was recorded irrespective of actual membership" (14, p. lxiii). The Census of 1943 states also: "Among the main religious faiths and sects in Jamaica is a very interesting group with considerable following, and is referred to as the pocomania or revivalist. The former 'denomination' was listed among the religions in the Census of 1943, and the latter accepted as included in the former. It is believed, however, that the Census figures do not completely show the extent of the following, and the practice of the rites of pocomania and similar sects" (14, p. lxiv). [Emphasis mine].

emphasis on social integration, J. M. Yinger proposes a six-step classification of religious structures: The Universal Church, The Ecclesia, The Class Church or Denomination, The Established Sect, The Sect, and The Cult.^a He cites the Catholic Church of the thirteenth century as perhaps the best illustration of a universal church in Western civilization. The Ecclesia is seen as a universal church in a state of rigidification, with established national churches tending toward this type. The Class Church or Denomination is conventional and respectable and is "in substantial—not perfect—harmony with the secular power structure." The Established Sect continues to stress ethical-protest themes and its members believe that the major problems are found in the reform of the evils of society. Sects which emphasize individual regeneration, if they survive, become denominations because they offer no serious challenge to the secular power structure. The Sect stresses literal obedience, individual perfection and asceticism, tends to be radical, has a small, voluntary membership that lacks continuity, is either hostile or indifferent to the state, is lay religion, and is usually associated with the lower classes (95, p. 19; 27, pp. 555-560). The Cult, in Yinger's classification, is characterized by small size, search for a mystical experience, presence of a charismatic leader, is short-lived and often local. Yinger writes: "The cult is concerned almost wholly with problems of the individual, with little regard for questions of social order; the implications for anarchy are even stronger than in the case of the sect, which is led by its interest in 'right behaviour' (whether the avoidance of individual sin or the establishment of social justice) back to the problem of social integration. The cults are religious 'mutants,' extreme variations on the dominant themes by means of which men try to solve their problems" (94).

Few churches are of a "pure" type, but a typology along the lines suggested by Yinger is useful in comparing religious groups. The chart below shows the application of this classification to Jamaica. Clearly the location of particular religious groups according to this typology depends upon their development in a given society. Thus organizations which are appropriately classified as denominations in one society may be regarded as established sects in another.

^aForthcoming volume on the sociology of religion. See also, J. M. Yinger, (95, ch. 2); and H. W. Pfautz, (65, pp. 121-133). In *Millhands and Preachers* (68), Liston Pope gives a scale of the aspects of the movement from sect to church. Yinger points out that cults are more likely to die than to be transformed into sects and then into churches (denominations). The church-sect dichotomy was first set forth by Ernst Troeltsch (90). A number of works provide data on sects and cults in the United States, including: Marcus Bach, *They Have Found a Faith* (2) (Jehovah's Witnesses, The Foursquare Gospel, Spiritualism, Oxford Group, Father Divine, Baha'i, Unity, Psychiana); E. T. Clark, *The Small Sects in America* (16) (Pessimistic Sects, Perfectionist Sects, Charismatic Sects, Communistic Sects, Legalistic Sects, Egocentric Sects, Esoteric Sects); A. H. Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North* (29) (Mt. Sinai Holy Church of America, Inc., United House of Prayer For All People, Church of God, Moorish Science Temple of America, Father Divine Peace Mission Movement); Sara Harris (35), F. S. Mead, (56).

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A TYPOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN JAMAICA

<i>Universal Church</i>	<i>Ecclesia</i>	<i>Denominations</i>
None	None	Anglican Baptist Buddhist Christian Confucian Congregationalist Evangelical Hindu Jewish Methodist Moravian Presbyterian Roman Catholic
<i>Established Sects</i>	<i>Sects^a</i>	<i>Cults</i>
Brethren Christian Science Salvation Army Seventh Day Adventist Society of Friends	Bedwardite Bible Student Church of God Jehovah's Witnesses Mission Pentecostal	Cumina Pocomania Revival Revival Zion

^aVan Dusen contrasts the recently developed pentecostal groups in the Caribbean with traditional Protestantism and Roman Catholicism and predicts that historians will regard them as "a new reformation, the emergence of a new, third major branch of Christendom." He states that these zealous evangelists have upset "the traditional Christian balance" and he questions whether these sects will eventually be "domesticated within traditional Protestantism." The millions of followers of these sects sometimes have "excessive bigotry" and are usually limited in outlook, but they have "a life-transforming devotion." Van Dusen says that the pentecostal groups are an "effective if incomplete representation of Christianity" and urges that these sects be thought of in terms of their best rather than their worst examples. This writer is concerned with such groups as Jehovah's Witnesses and those which bear such titles as "Church of God," "Church of Christ" or which contain such words as "Holiness," "Adventist," or "Pentecostal." It is obvious that he is not referring to cults such as Pocomania and Revival Zion (92, pp. 946-948).

CHAPTER III

THE BELIEF SYSTEM OF REVIVALISM

This formulation of the belief system of revivalism in West Kingston is a synthesis produced from direct observations during and between meetings, tape recordings taken during various kinds of services, personal and group interviews with leaders, officers, and members of thirteen cult groups. Six or seven of these might be classified as Pocomania, the others as Revival Zion. In addition, data were obtained from three obeah men.

It is difficult to distinguish sharply among the varieties of revivalism. For the groups known to the writer, there seemed to be no real distinction between revival and Revival Zion people. Joseph Moore distinguishes between these groups in the Morant Bay region. In West Kingston, as we have said elsewhere, the differences between Pocomania and Revival Zion are, more often than not, hard to discern. "Nearly all upper class and middle class Jamaicans, Englishmen, and Americans consider all revivalist groups as Pocomania. One lower class informant maintained that wherever one finds 'jumping', that is, 'labouring in the spirit' to bring on possession, one finds Pocomania. Moore (63) has pointed out that in the Morant Bay area, the Pocomania people set altars on the ground for a ceremony which is intended to 'cut and clear' evil spirits away. Moore also suggests that Revival Zion people use neither rum nor *ganja* (marijuana), while Pocomania believers, especially the leaders, are likely to make use of both. I found no one who would unequivocally admit belonging to a Pocomania group; all claimed to be revivalists of one kind or another. A number of informants designated men and women who they said were well-known Pocomania leaders. These persons, however, insisted that they are revivalists or Baptists. The writer thinks that the most important distinctions in West Kingston are: less emphasis on preaching and Bible explanations and more emphasis on singing and 'spiritual' dancing; greater use of witchcraft; more extreme techniques of healing; and, perhaps, more emotional instability among the leaders, in Pocomania than in Revival Zion. These are not infallible criteria because Revival Zion leaders sometimes 'put duppies on' (use the evil spirits of dead persons against) their rivals or those who are causing trouble for their clients, and their healing activities are not always limited to the laying on of hands, reading the Bible, praying, singing, offering the sick person a glass of consecrated water, and lecturing him" (81, p. 2).

Not all of the writer's informants would agree with every point in this account, but most would accept its main outlines. An attempt has been made not to erect a mock theology for West Kingston revivalism, but undoubtedly the structure of the belief system as given here is fuller and more consis-

tent than it is in the mind of any one informant. Even the most knowledgeable revivalist leaders possess limited educational backgrounds. For the most part they are individualists who do not discuss doctrinal or procedural points at great length with rival leaders. Each leader, speaking authoritatively, dominates his followers ideologically, emotionally, and, perhaps, in other ways. At the beginning of his career, a leader tends to emulate the officiant who has had the greatest influence on him. As he studies the Bible, prays, interprets the Gospel in meetings, obtains messages from the spirits while dreaming, experiencing visions, and being possessed, a leader modifies his earlier procedures and relies increasingly upon improvisation during meetings.

The relationships between revivalism as a set of religious beliefs and ceremonies and obeah, or magical rites, are interesting and complex. Presumably revivalist leaders are religionists who are not involved in the practice of obeah, while obeah men and women are evil persons who practice magic without having a church group. However, most of those who attend revivalist meetings are well informed about obeah, and, in actual practice, a number of the revivalist leaders do not confine themselves to conducting religious services. The temptation to follow the latter course is strong because of requests made by followers, the income to be derived therefrom, and the fact that competitors engage in both types of activity. Some admit this and speak freely of techniques which can be employed to put on and take off duppies, cure illnesses, insure success in hazardous undertaking, etc. Others claim that they do not use such procedures, but that they must know about them so that they may warn their followers against evil. The latter usually claim that they do not possess or use any of the de Laurence^a books, but that they have seen them.

In considering Jamaican revivalism, it is well to keep in mind the cultural and sociological contexts within which it exists. West Kingston Revival Zionists and Pocomanians live in an economically depressed area, and many of them are recent arrivals from the country districts. Almost all of them live in crowded one-room houses in a dreary physical environment. Many of the men are unemployed or underemployed; the others are engaged in low-paid, unskilled or semi-skilled work. Women of the area find employment as domestic servants, street merchants, and small shop-keepers. Those who are not fully employed "scuffle" for a living. This expressive term refers to: doing odd jobs, running errands, selling firewood, making objects for sale to tourists and to Jamaicans, begging, gambling, stealing, pimping, prostitution; in short, doing almost anything that enables one to keep alive. Family life is unstable, recreation facilities are almost non-existent, and educational accommodations are inadequate (81, p. 1).

^aA line of "Books for Mystics" published by The de Laurence Co., Inc., of Chicago, Illinois. Among the best known are: *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*; *Albertus Magnus—Egyptian Secrets*; *Magic, Black and White* (26). The importation, sale, or possession of these books is forbidden by Jamaican law.

Spirits, Angels, Messengers, Protectors

The revivalists of West Kingston, both Pocomanians and Revival Zionists, believe strongly in a world peopled by many "spirits". Among my informants the most popular spirits ("angels", "protectors", "messengers") are Michael and Gabriel. Following them, in approximately this order, are: Samuel, Raphael, Jeremiah, Jesus Christ, God (Jehovah, Omnipotence), Miriam, Mary, Satan, Holy Ghost, Moses, Ezekiel, Uriel, Casuel, Solomon, David, Joshua, Isaiah, Daniel, Rutibel, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Peter, James, Ariel, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, Caleb, Nathaniel, Tharsis, Seraph, Melshezdek, Constantine, and The Royal Angel. This is not, of course, a complete list of Jamaican spirits. No two revivalists produce the same roster of spirits, but, as indicated, the range includes Old Testament prophets, New Testament saints, the Trinity, the Mother of Jesus, angels and archangels, Satan and Rutibel, beings from the de Laurence publications, and the dead. Most revivalists believe that they are protected by one guardian spirit, but some leaders claim they are assisted by many, or even all, of the good spirits.

The spirits of dead relatives are capable both of aiding and injuring the living. The dead hover around their living relatives and protect them from evil magic. Assistance from the dead is obtained through "concentration", that is, by thinking while alone about a specific dead relative. The majority of revivalists believe that the dead will show anger against children who do not provide adequate funeral and other ceremonies for them, and that the dead will punish those who do not "live right".

Satan is always around to cause trouble, as can be seen from the evil works which people perform all the time and which require the assistance of the Devil. Wicked persons make a pact with Satan, usually for fifty years, and in return they receive money or "mysteries". For a while these people flourish but then they begin to "wither" and they always "die bad". They seldom, if ever, live fifty years after making their pacts because the Devil doesn't keep his agreement. These evil people "travel under" Rutibel, a fallen angel who is the closest assistant of Satan.

These spirits punish and reward the living, and revivalists try to enlist their help and to avoid their wrath through both public and private rituals. The spirits serve as messengers as well as protectors and avengers, and ordinary believers, as well as cult specialists, seek and receive messages (advice and warnings) through dreams and visions. Michael, Samuel, Raphael, Constantine, Gabriel and others provide such information as which leaves and candles are to be used for a "table" or a healing rite, when the candles are to be lighted, and which "lessons" should be read while the candles burn. Determination of which spirit is to be called upon in a given situation depends upon which one (ones) have possessed the leader or the believer in the past, which have been the most helpful, and what the powers and interests of the various spirits are thought to be. On the latter point

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revivalists are often somewhat hazy and are not in complete agreement. Typical of their conceptions are:

Christ is merciful.

Gabriel is the head angel around the throne of Almighty God, Minister of the Midnight Wind; cross and warlike.

Jeremiah is the chief prophet because "him suffer deep". He cuts and clears away "destruction".

Isaiah says that men must fast and pray deep to get the teaching from the holy prophets.

God sends death and judgment messages.

Michael is Minister of the Lord's Day (also called the Angel of Peace).

Samuel is the Minister of Blood.

Rutibel concentrates on evil deeds.

Raphael is Chief Minister of the archangel group; Minister of the General Wind.

Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John can be helpful to everyone.

Satan may be used if an important case is in court.

Solomon was black.

Moses was able to pass many miracles.

Casuel was Guardian of the heathen at the time of Adam and Eve.

Shadrach, Meshack, and Abednego were baptized in a furnace of fire.

Nathaniel and Seraphi are the gods of fire.

Ezekiel, Daniel, Peter and the Royal Angel are important messengers.

Miriam, Constantine, and Melshezdek are strong protectors.

God and the saints are for everybody and are not intended for only one race. The prophets and the saints live in a place of rest on the astral plane beyond the earth. This is not Heaven but is a place to wait for the Day of Judgment. Archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael are through with judgment and serve as messengers around the Throne of God.

A mother may be ruled by one spirit, Gabriel, for example, while her daughter is ruled by another, perhaps by Miriam. Usually mother and child do not come under the jurisdiction of the same angel. The same is true of husband and wife, although some believe that if they "live together good" for some time both may come to "travel" under the same spirit.

Unlike the devotees of the *vodun* cult in Haiti, of *santeria* in Cuba, *shango* in Trinidad, cults in northern and southern Brazil, and in other parts of the New World (4, 17, 40, 44, 46, 77) Jamaican Pocomanians and Revival Zionists do not worship old African gods such as Legba, Damballa, Ogoun, Obatala, Oshun, and Gédé alongside the saints. When the writer mentioned the names of Legba and several other West African deities, his informants either did not recognize them or they said they were Latin names for the spirits, or that they came from the "language" (the unknown tongues) of a person possessed by one of the spirits, or that they referred to the Maroon people. One Pocomania leader, when told that these words are the names of West African gods, said: "You hardly hear of them in Jamaica. They are

a high mystery. Those names are high signs—like worshipping a stone.” Another informant said that Revival Zionists would never use the names of African gods in a ceremony because their services must be clean and pure, that is, Christian services. Some, he added, may use the names of African gods in private ceremonies.

Souls and Duppies.

The multiple soul concept of West Africa^a persists in Jamaica, as it does in many parts of the West Indies, among the untutored. In addition to a soul, which returns to God for judgment,^b each person is believed to have a shadow or “duppy” which remains behind after death. Magical rituals make it possible to summon a duppy for the performance of specific deeds; other procedures nullify the intentions of spirits of the dead which have returned to torment their living relatives or which have been summoned by one’s enemies to cause illness, death, or other misfortune.

According to some informants, a duppy wanders on earth for forty days and then goes to the “spirit home” in the other world; others place no limit on a duppy’s wandering days.^c The shadow of a good man cannot be seen, but one may see a bad man’s shadow on the street. An evil spirit looks and acts just as it did in life and may even wear the same clothes that the person wore when alive.

Duppies as Snakes, Frogs and Lizards

The strong fears of snakes, frogs, and lizards are related to concepts of the supernatural. These creatures may be duppies capable of causing all kinds of misfortune. Tree lizards, also known as street duppies, African duppies, and greenguanas (iguanas), spit on people and cause fevers.^d

^a“Soul concepts of African peoples are highly elaborated, as in Dahomey, where all persons have at least three souls, and adult males have four. One is inherited from an ancestor, and is the ‘guardian spirit’ of the individual. Before this spirit assumes his role of guardian, however, it finds the clay out of which the body it is to guard is to be made. The second is the personal soul, while the third is the small bit of the Creator that ‘lives in every person’s body.’ The first, in terms of Euroamerican thought, is to be conceived as the biological aspect of a man, the second his personality, and the third his intellect and intuition. The fourth soul of adult males is associated with the concept of Destiny. This soul occupies itself not alone with the affairs of the individual who has established its formal worship, but also with the collective destiny of his household, since, ‘the Dahomean reasons that when a man reaches maturity, his own life cannot know fulfilment apart from the lives of those who share that life with him’” (41, p. 352).

^bWhile one is asleep, his spirit may travel to the spirit world and meet the spirits of those who are dead. His adventures among the dead are revealed to the sleeper in his dreams.

^cThe Herskovitses (46, p. 303) found that members of the *shango* cult are not too clear about soul, shadow, and spirit concepts, and the present writer found this to be the case with West Kingston revivalists. See also A. Métraux (58, p. 84).

^dThe treatment for a fever caused by a lizard, according to one informant, consists of: (a) using oil of runaway, (b) bathing the person all over with a bush tea made of seven different bushes (spirit weed, John Charles, guinea hen, river weed, lignum vitae, chainy root, and police maca), and (c) anointing the person with “oil of clearance”. This formula was obtained from a man who claimed to be a Revival Zion leader, but one who clearly should be classified as a Pocomania “Captain”.

The belief is that some evil operators have the power to turn duppies into snakes, frogs, or lizards, and that it is advisable to avoid these animals since one can never tell which of them actually are duppies. A frog ghost, a human ghost that appears in the form of a frog, may cause a bad knee, a bad foot, or a false belly (tumour). Some believe that evil persons train serpents, lizards, and frogs to do their work for them.

Sins and Taboos

As judged by sermon discourses, informal discussions, and personal interviews, the sins which loom largest in the thinking of revivalists are: deceitfulness, lying, stealing, hatred, criticism, thinking evil, fornication, being unjust, coveting a neighbour's goods, and placing an evil spirit or spell on a person. Also mentioned were: counterfeiting money, cruelty to human beings, cruelty to animals, starving oneself when one has money, taking away a person's freedom, and destroying another man's garden.

It was interesting to note that fornication was variously defined by West Kingston revivalists. The point of view expressed by one prominent leader is typical: "We know that people have to get to know each other before they marry. There is no definite trial period; they carry through marriage when they find the money. If a man or a woman goes from one to another, he is a professional fornicator." This man said that the members of his group would not prevent a person who is living in a common-law relationship from participating in Revival Zion services, but that they would encourage him to marry. "We preach", he said, "about fornication in a general way without denouncing any particular person. We urge everyone to marry." Another leader defined a fornicator as "a man who has two, three, four, five, six, or more ladies besides his wife or common-law wife." According to his view, a common-law wife is all right. Summarizing his attitudes on "careless living" (fornication), adultery, and marriage, he commented: "I tell young people to take one person and make yourself comfortable. When you find perfection, that is, one who is satisfactory, marry if you can afford it or live holy with that one person. Don't take two or more at one time. Marrying and having one direct person to overlook your condition is better than to live a whoredom life." Certainly this position is consistent with actual conditions in West Kingston, where family life is unstable and legal marriage the exception. This interpretation is, therefore, acceptable to his neighbours and followers whereas a contradictory position which he felt called upon to take in the same discussion would be most unpopular. Probably his pronouncement that "a woman may be a wife by law if she has known another or other men, but she is not a wife according to Christian law" is seldom, if ever, made to his followers. If made, it would be completely disregarded.

Among the taboos which are important to West Kingston revivalists are: the eating of pork, swearing and using indecent language, going to a graveyard except at certain times, going to court to settle a property dispute with

a member of one's church instead of asking the leader for a decision, eating during a fast period before an important service, social dancing, active participation in a church service by a menstruating woman, and sexual intercourse during a period of several days before an important religious service. The taboo on pork is due to the Biblical injunction against eating the flesh of unclean animals. Revivalists are forbidden to go to cemeteries except at these times: (a) funerals, (b) the laying of the head board three months after burial, and (c) a tombing.^a Revivalists are supposed to use such protective spirits as Michael, Gabriel, and Jeremiah rather than a "portion"^b from the graveyard. Rules concerning abstinence from sexual relations prior to religious services vary according to the importance of the ceremony and the type of person. One leader urges unmarried persons to abstain for two weeks before an important service. Married persons should abstain for the same period to gain the greatest benefit from the service, but abstention for three days is said to be a necessity. Another informant stressed the importance of abstention for three weeks on the part of a leader before a big service, and maintained that forty days was required before a "sacrifice" service. Both officers and ordinary members frequently violate these proscriptions. If a given service does not go well, judged, for example, by the number of spirit possessions and the strength of the possessions, a convenient explanation is that some one present has been incontinent.

Riddance of sin comes through several means: the purification of the baptismal ceremony, public confession followed by fasting and a service which consists of singing, praying, and testifying, or, in extreme cases, suspension from the church for a period of from one to three months.

Dreams and Visions

Both leaders and their followers receive messages (warnings and advice) from the spirits. Not infrequently leaders are asked to interpret dreams for their members. The chart below illustrates the kinds of interpretations given to dreams by revivalist leaders.

DREAM SUBJECT	LEADER X	LEADER Y	LEADER Z
Pure Water	Prosperity coming.	Prosperity, love and peace.	Purity and cleanliness.
Dirty water	Contention coming.	Quarrels, confusion, trouble coming.	Harm will befall dreamer or person close to him.
Someone, including self, dying.	Long life for dreamer.	Long life. Same for relative if dream dealt with relative.	Long life.

^aIf no sign is put up to show that some one is buried in a space which has been purchased, another person may be buried there. Therefore, a metal fence or a concrete structure about eighteen inches high is erected one year after burial. A head stone may or may not be set up at this time.

^bThis expression refers to working with the spirit of a dead person.

DREAM SUBJECT	LEADER X	LEADER Y	LEADER Z
Person dead for some time			A new death coming.
Blood from own cut.	Disgraceful things will happen to dreamer.		
Some one close to dreamer gets cut.	Danger to relative.		
Someone he doesn't recognize gets cut.	Danger to friend		
Flowers.	Much prosperity in future.		
Plants without flowers.	Prosperity ahead, but not near.		
Black car, train, or carriage	Death coming.		
Swimming.	Prosperity.		
Dreamer diving under surface of water.	Danger		
Boat on top of water.	Prosperity.		
Being in boat or submarine that goes under surface of water.	Great danger, but will come through it.		
Climbing.	Some day good desires will be realized.		
Flying.		Coming success.	
Falling		Disappointment or failure coming.	
Walking barefoot, along a road or in town where there are many people.	Poverty for a poor man; spending money unnecessarily for well-to-do person.		
Fire.	Quarrelling and contention coming.		
Dogs, cats, cows.		Expect to make evil against one.	
Sexual intercourse with spouse.	Reunion.		
Sexual intercourse with stranger.	Visitation of some evil.		
Kissing spouse.	Reunion.	Except to make new acquaintances, new friends.	
Kissing stranger.	Stranger going to use flattery and try to make himself appear as truthful when actually he (she) is lying and deceiving.		

One Mother claims to have been brought up in the Baptist Church, but to have shifted to revivalism after a dream experience. She saw Christ and He asked her: "Will you arise?" She refused and He said: "I will see to it that you arise." Then some Captain appeared and said: "Sister, will you arise?" She replied: "No, No!" She then woke up crying, felt weak and surrendered (became a revivalist).^a

A male leader cited two dreams and a vision which he had at the age of twelve and which made a lasting impression on him. His account of these experiences follows:

"I dreamt that I see a man having tall wiscoes, very tall beard, also the hair on his head was tall. This man were standing under a cocoa tree. He then call me unto him and he ask me if I knew who he were. I told him no. He asked me the same question over again. I replied no. The man told me that he was Jesus. He anointed me from my head down to my feet. After he was finished anointing me he told me that I must go and call my mother and father to come unto him. The following morning after awaking from bed I told the dream unto my mother and father. They did not know the meaning of the dream. At about twelve noon the same day I went unto the cocoa tree where I dreamt that I saw the man. When I reached the cocoa tree I stand on the same spot where I stand that night in my dream. I looked as if I were looking on the man. I did not see any thing, not a sign of any thing. In about a minute's time I felt as if I should look up to the sky, so I did. When I looked up I saw a very bright star in the sky. While I was looking on the sky immediately I saw the moon, looking now on the moon. There the moon begin to move timely to the north. A faster movement develop. The moon fall to the north. A river was in that direction. My mother was washing at that river the same day. I ran away from the tree down to the river to ask my mother if she see the moon fall down there. I did ask my mother question. She speak unto me in a rough manner by asking me—'Are you a fool? Get away from me.' I felt ashame because many other people were there washing and bathing. After leaving the river very fast I went home thinking on what I have seen. That evening I never felt for anything to eat. I went unto my bed concentrating on the last night's dream. Here on the following night I have got another dream. My next dream was like this. I dreamt that I have seen a golden chariot travelling from the east going west, the chariot having four golden wheels drawn by seven horses. All briches were made of gold and the horses were shod with golden shoes. The chariot was about two chains above the earth. The man that rode the leading horse carry a golden sword and buttons were made of gold. The leading man that sat up on the horse stoped the chariot as they reach to where I was standing. The man on the leading horse beckoned unto me. I could not speak unto him at first. I was shock with amazement as I was astonished at the sight I have seen."

This was not the last vision that this man was to have. Since he became a leader some twenty years ago, he has had a number of visions. He insists that he does not seek them, as some do, by using oils and perfumes and then going to bed. Sometimes others take off their clothes, turn them wrong

^aIn discussing Zulu dream-life, Sundkler writes: "Freud has taught us to distinguish between the manifest and the latent content of a dream: the deep and hidden conflicts which form the latent content are, according to Freud, during the process of the 'dream-work,' distorted and transformed into that which appears as the manifest content of the same dream. It is only this latter manifest content of Zionist dreams which we are studying here. More particularly we are concerned with the process of standardization of dreams, which is so characteristic of the Zionist Church, and indeed of primitive dream life in general. The manifest dream content in its standardized, stereotyped form influences the Zionist Church leaders and their followers in all important matters pertaining to the life of the Church" (88, p. 265). The same statement may be made concerning the dream cited above and those which follow. The present writer collected similar standardized, stereotyped dreams from peasants in northern Haiti, especially those which explained why a person had become a *houngan* (voodoo priest) (80, p. 95).

side out, and, after throwing them over the back of a chair near the bed, back into bed without looking at the bed. This procedure is supposed to ensure that a spirit (Michael, etc., or the spirit of a dead person) will come to them with a revelation while they sleep. In this Leader's experience, something may happen while he is sitting alone. He may hear a voice speaking to him and giving instructions for healing. It may say: "Use that leaf, or water, some little thing that doesn't seem too valuable." Or he may see himself in Port Antonio. "You are lost from your temporal self and you go away. You may see yourself visiting someone who is sick. It may or may not be a stranger. You may see Christ, and He may come with a Bible, a cross, and a white lily. Sometimes he speaks and gives you a chapter in the Bible to read for certain occasions. The vision never lasts longer than five minutes." This leader receives visions also when he is "concentrating" (staring intently at a stone, a picture of one of the saints, or a crystal ball). Sometimes when he is concentrating on a picture of Saint Teresa "it turns into a living woman" and speaks to him, telling him that certain things, like his wife leaving him by the twenty-fifth of next month, are going to happen.

One of this man's most important visions came when he sat down about one o'clock one afternoon. He saw himself go down into the earth, and there he observed many tools covered with marble stones. Behind him he heard groaning as if a person were in pain. He looked beside him. He did not see anyone, but he did notice a young coconut palm growing fast out of the earth. It was on his left. On his right were the tombs of all the older day prophets and apostles. They awoke from their tombs, but only one—Jeremiah—spoke. Jeremiah said: "As you see a coconut plant growing out of the earth, so you will be growing in the spirit." Jeremiah then told him to leave; he came up out of that place, and the earth closed behind him. For a week after this happened, he didn't feel well; he felt light, just as if he were still in that place among the spirits.

This leader reports that big visions come to him at intervals of several years, but that dreams come more often. In the absence of either dreams or visions, he can always obtain knowledge of what to do by concentrating long enough to get messages from protective spirits.

One day when a Captain was lying awake in bed and concentrating he saw Christ approach the bed carrying a lighted lamp. He warned this officiant not to go to a certain place because the people there "use dangerous oils" and are fanatical".

A woman who has established herself as a leader has many dreams and visions. Sometimes a prophet or angel comes right into the church and presents this Mother with a book or flowers or speaks to her, telling her what to do or say. She may have a vision while sitting alone in her church. For

^aWhen some oils are rubbed on the body, they draw people to them. Other oils when rubbed on the eyes, enable a person to see things which otherwise he could not see.

example, a spirit may appear and search the church to see if anything is wrong. If everything is not in order, she is told what must be done "to keep the church of God right."

Some Captains are well known because of a special type of vision which they have outside the regular ceremonies. These visions, apparently less common in West Kingston than in former years, of impending catastrophes such as fires, storms, etc., are called "warnings". Such a Captain may warn persons planning to attend a meeting to "cut away evil spirits" before they leave home. Here this means burning a mixture of frankincense, myrrh, and benzine in a white enamel plate.

Dreams and visions play important roles in West Kingston revivalism. Through them the spirits warn against the evil intentions of enemies and of coming events, good and bad. Dream and vision experiences strongly reinforce traditional beliefs about the spirits and the dead, and they serve to rationalize conversion to revivalism. In general, the experiences of leaders are more impressive, or at least they seem more impressive, than those of ordinary believers. The more dramatic experiences of these officials help to validate their positions in cult life.^a

Possession

Most spirit possessions occur during church services, but some Leaders, Captains, and Mothers, by concentrating, receive messages from one of the angels when followers come to them for readings. During meetings, the possessed person may scream, whirl, leap, moan, tremble,^b cling to other worshippers, run, crawl, fall to the ground, or roll on the ground. When the angel that rules a person descends upon him in meeting, he cannot resist; one revivalist remarked that when the spirit enters a person, he feels "as if he were holding on to an electric wire." A Mother explained that "Christ

^aConcerning Haitian peasant dreams, E. E. Bourguignon writes: "...dream experiences tend, together with possession, to validate the belief in the gods, and to establish two-way communication with them. While it is difficult to see to what extent dreams themselves may be culturally patterned, the cultural dogma of the dreams as appearances of the gods interacts with the dream content in such a way that an interpreted version of the dream seems to be experienced by the dreamer. The reality of the dream world is placed on the same plane as that of waking experience. In neither case need people be who or what they appear to be. Children's dreams seem to have different content, since presumably they are not as yet schooled in this matter of interpretation, and also, as children, they seem to have less direct contact with the supernaturals. Dreams furthermore act as channels for the development of idiosyncratic modes of worship and lend support to whatever mythology exists, which itself is largely based on anecdotal material about the gods. This mythological material, in turn, furnishes the basis for dream interpretation and for the manner in which dreams are experienced" (10, p. 268).

^bFor an interesting discussion of premonitory dreams of the vodunists of Marbial, Haiti, see Alfred Métraux (59, pp. 165-170).

^bPierson's description of the "presence" of an orixa in the head of a member of the *candomblé* cult of Bahia Brazil is apt: "His 'presence' is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles" (67, p. 281). This quivering is characteristic of *vodun* possessions observed by the present writer in northern Haiti and in the possessions of Jamaican revivalists.

said in John 3 that the spirit is like the wind blowing.^a She maintained that all who are under a certain spirit may be possessed by him at the same time and that when this occurs they "move together" without fighting.^b

The behaviour of those who are "in the spirit" is said to vary according to the character of the protective spirit. Knowledgeable revivalists claim they can tell which messenger has arrived by the possessed person's manner of singing, dancing, and shouting. One who is possessed by Gabriel is supposed to be vigorous and lively, while one who "works" with Michael tends to be calm. Presumably those who follow Raphael bring messages of "destruction" while in the spirit. Miriam's followers are represented as most gentle. Those who are under David, Solomon, Joshua, Moses and the other prophets are thought to behave in the manner of their protectors, and this is true also of those who follow the New Testament apostles: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Peter. Neither the direct observations of the writer nor the rather vague descriptions of informants make it possible to specify clearly the behaviours of the various spirits. One suspects that in West Kingston a possession is identifiable mainly because those present know whom a given person follows or because that person shouts the name of his spirit or quotes him.^c

There are several ways of bringing on spirit possessions in revivalist and Pocomania meetings. "Divine concentration" may be used if some of the sheep do not get possessed by the spirit. The leaders and his followers "go back to" (think about) "saints" like Raphael, Gabriel, Miriam, the Mother of Christ, David, Jeremiah, Solomon, Michael, and others. A leader may grasp the shoulders of a follower and spin her around. If this action does not induce possession, he may strike her with his rod on the assumption that she has sinned and therefore deserves to be beaten. The most frequently employed technique for encouraging spirit possession in a meeting is "labouring in the spirit".^d Here the leader, followed by the officers and leading mem-

^aSt. John 3:8, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit."

^bIn northern Haiti, the writer has observed that not more than one vodunist is possessed by the same god at the same time.

^cThe marked differences in behaviour on the part of possessed vodunists in Haiti is not found in West Kingston cults. In Haiti, Legba limps and walks with a cane, Damballa rolls on the ground, Guede beats bystanders with a knife, Ibo acts like a dog, Erzile is coquettish, Adjassou runs around in an excited manner, Papa Pie is energetic and authoritative, Ogoum-Tonnerre is haughty and alcoholic, etc. See G. E. Simpson (77, pp. 50-51). Concerning possession in Morant Bay cults, Moore says: "Behaviour of a possessed person varies with the spirit who possesses him... the individual is endowed with the powers of that particular spirit. Such behavior is readily identified by the leaders of the cult, and even by many initiates and persons who are not members" (63, p. 9).

^dAn interesting statement concerning the inducing of possession in the *candomblé* (Afro-Brazilian) cult of Bahia is—"This 'visitation' is known as the *estado de santo* ('state of the orixa') and is ordinarily induced by prolonged fasting, the pungent odors of certain sacred herbs, the monotonous and long-continued beating of the *atabaques*, the heat from a large number of human bodies densely packed together on a warm night, the fatigue attendant on

bers of the church, circles counter-clockwise the altar, or the "table" inside or outside the church, or the "seal" in the yard. "Labouring in the spirit", or "spiritual dancing", consists of (a) "trumping" and (b) "sounding". "Trumping" is the trampling of evil spirits underfoot, and consists of stamping hard with the right foot while the body is bent forward from the waist and breath is expelled, and stamping more lightly with the left foot as the body straightens up and as the maximum amount of air is breathed in. Revivalists groan as they over-breathe on the up-swing, and this is called "sounding". "Labouring in the spirit" is believed to increase the religious understanding of the participants (81, p. 4). The over-breathing, or hyper-ventilation, produces dizziness and other effects in some persons and thus facilitates the onset of spirit possession.^a

During a regular service, the leader seeks souls through an "altar call." As he shows the wrongs of earth some "come freely" without being pos-

^aA physiological explanation of over-ventilation (hyperpnea) and apnea (respiratory arrest) is given in (9, pp. 413). Hyperpnea is defined as "an increase in the quantity of air breathed (minute volume) as a result of an increase of either the rate or depth of respiration or of both..." Hyperpnea may be produced "by impulses reaching the respiratory center from the cerebral cortex (as in excitement and other emotional states) or from the hypothalamus; by the stimulation of sensory nerves (e.g., pain, heat or cold applied to the skin, etc.), by conditions which increase the demand of the tissues for oxygen, e.g., muscular exercise, and by certain other factors..." The author comments further that "variations (of the reaction to forced breathing) seem due not alone to differences in rate and degree of the over-ventilation but to peculiarities which, for lack of a better understanding of them may be termed constitutional and temperamental. In a class of over a hundred students two or three individuals may be found who can carry on forced breathing for ten minutes with comparatively little disturbance. On the whole these seem to be of rather robust physique, though not necessarily trained athletes... Within five minutes at the most, a regular rhythm has been established and the subject will have begun to notice numbness and tingling, probably coolness and perhaps tremors in various parts of the body and slight tightening of the muscles. In the majority of cases, samples of alveolar air taken at this time will show a level of carbon dioxide about one-half the normal, and only a slight further drop will occur as the experiment continues. The pulse and blood will have risen, as would be expected with muscular exercise, but from now on signs and symptoms will begin to vary. The pulse and blood pressure may retain their relationship, or the pulse may rise without corresponding rise in pressure, but not infrequently the pulse rate increases while the pressure falls. It is usually in this last group of cases that one may find the clammy skin, pale cyanosis and thready pulse which form a curious anomaly.... The condition is suggestive of shock, and students who have experienced it may be impressed with the contrast to the flushed warm skin and pounding heart which occur when the breath is held to the breaking point.... Sometimes clonic spasms and shivering will persist through the greater part of an experiment.... The condition has been described as one of mild intoxication, and in classes immediately after the war a student who had been an aviator remarked that his sensations resembled those resulting from a very rapid rise in altitude."

The writer is indebted to Dr. Philip Hugh-Jones and Dr. John Garrow of the Faculty of Medicine, University College of the West Indies, for calling his attention to recent physiological and medical studies of over-ventilation.

long-sustained dancing, the imperative expectations of the group, and, often as a precipitating incident, when tensions have been built up to the point where they can no longer be sustained, a sudden, loud, and unexpected noise" (67, p. 286). Ramos writes: "... in certain respects the *queda no santo* (falling into the saint, or trance) in Brazil has other causes, of a psychological nature, such as the profound sentiment of frustration among the Negroes. This has been accumulating since the period of slavery and it still continues to grow out of the vicissitudes and deficiencies of an economic and educational nature. The abuse of stupefying drugs helps complicate the picture, and everything bursts forth in the highly emotional act of possession, whose causes therefore are much more complex than a purely cultural conditioning" (70, p. 141).

essed by a spirit, but others are "attacked" by the spirit and fall on the ground. Those who fall remain on the ground until the spirit releases them; the others gather around the "table" and pray individually. A person may stay on the ground for several hours, a day, three days and nights, a week, two weeks, a month, or even three months. Such persons have to have others (armour bearers) take care of them—feed them, bathe them, change their clothes, etc. Many are unconscious the whole time, but some come to now and then and then lapse again into unconsciousness. They may be silent, make sounds, or speak in other tongues. Most converts who fall on the ground stay only a few hours, or at the most, a day or so. Those who stay on the ground for a long period (a week or longer) usually become leaders or Mothers when they rise. When released by the spirit, that is, when the stricken person finally "rises" from the ground and resumes his usual daily routine, he gives a "rising" or "uplifting" table.^a

Some people never become possessed by the spirit, but it is not possible to give a percentage estimate. Some revivalists insist that they have attended meetings where everyone present became possessed. The possibility of such a meeting, especially a small gathering made up of people who have "laboured" together for some time, is not denied, but the writer has never observed such an occasion either in Haiti or in Jamaica. At times, some believers resist the spirits. Such resistance decreases the success of a service and is not appreciated by the leaders.

An interesting question arises concerning the possibility of simulating possession by a spirit. Experienced leaders believe they can distinguish pretenders from those who are genuinely possessed. A pretender tries to imitate those who are "in the spirit" but it is said to be impossible for him to go through the correct movements. Also, a person who is not really possessed will, it is claimed, say things that no one "in the spirit" would say. Some who are incapable of becoming possessed pretend to be in the spirit because they enjoy the "spiritual dancing". Others believe that secrets are revealed to those who are possessed and they want to know about these things. Another reason for pretension is to gain the prestige that comes from being one of the inner group.^b

^aSee p. 371 for an explanation of "tables" in Jamaican revivalism.

^bOn the question of sincerity and pretension in entering communication with the world of the spirits, see the stimulating discussion in Alfred Métraux (60, p. 23). Métraux states: One important conclusion emerges from the study of these various methods of communication with the supernatural: they all, whether based on states of possession or on shamanistic trances, aim at inducing psycho-pathological states. These hysterical conditions and hallucinations are regarded as special experiences through which nature can be understood and controlled. The artificial inducement of these mental states is an essential part of the technique of ecstasy and possession. Among exponents of the supernatural are to be found true "neurotics" side by side with normal persons. In the obscure regions thus formed representational systems are evolved in which theological speculation mingles with pathological experience. From this union are born those beliefs which open the way to delusions and unconscious falsehoods. The power of conviction in a primitive society is illustrated by the following anecdote: A young Indian Zuni, having seen the "Katchina" (persons disguised as spirits) without their masks, announced on returning home that he had seen the Katchina wearing the masks of men. It is in such a mental condition that the state of possession can be accepted equally by those who experience it, and by those who witness it as the true manifestation of the presence of the supernatural. [Trans. Ed.]

The Stones, the Blood, and the Herbs

Bascom reports that these items, presumably not the focal points of such West African religions as Dahomean, Ashanti, and Yoruba, constitute the core of the *santeria* cult in Cuba (4, p. 65 ff). Although this does not seem to be the case in Jamaican revivalism, undoubtedly these elements are of importance. In Cuba *santeria* the "leaves" are used to cleanse the "stones", blood is the food of the saints, and the stones are the objects through which the saints are fed (4, p. 66).

In West Kingston, "the stones", including those which are similar in size and shape to polished stone celts, round (river) stones, stones resembling the human figure, or the heart, head, kidney, or other anatomical parts, and carved stones are found in the homes, yards, and churches of nearly all revivalist leaders. The most knowledgeable revivalists disagree on whether spirits are in the stones and use the stones, but even those who say the stones do not contain spirits believe that a spirit rules all the stones. In any event, the stones "carry" power (78, p. 90).^a

The sacred stones in Jamaica, as in Cuba, have to be provided with food. Some say the stones grow and that if they are not fed, they must find food for themselves. Others, from time to time, pour a little aerated water or rum on the stones and they may leave crackers (biscuits) or a fried dumpling in a white saucer for the spirit to eat.

One leader who does not feed his stones, prays over a stone head or figure carved by himself, sprinkles it with consecrated water, and anoints

^aMoore reports that in a Morant Bay Pocomania ceremony a chicken is sacrificed and the blood is poured upon and around a triangular stone in the centre of the ceremonial area. A black cloth is placed over the stone and both are covered with a white cloth. The stone is known as the "power key" and the altar is built around it. (63, p. 95).

(Continued from foot of page 355)

On the spontaneity and strength of possessions in Dahomey and among the Ashanti Herskovits writes: "The type of possession which is to be seen among the Ashanti... is not to be witnessed in Dahomey where even during the strongest frenzy it is apparent that a dancer is most rarely, if ever, completely in a trance" (39, II, p. 199). He remarks that the Dahomean material illustrates Radin's categories of "those who are merely religious on occasion and of those in whom the religious emotion is felt violently." "Skeptics among the Dahomeans themselves," he says, "state that many of the *vodunsi* derive nothing deeper from their experiences in the cult-house than the enjoyment of freedom from routine and, after emergence, the pleasure of appearing before their acquaintances in the fineries of a cult-member... It is said, further, that some go through the initiatory experience merely to satisfy curiosity. Yet even skeptics admit that there are some who experience the real 'mystery' that is the *vodu*. Such persons feel an exaltation, a sense of awe and of unity with the god that, though held in check between ceremonies, wells forth at once if the proper songs or drum rhythms are heard. On such occasions, as the *vodunsi* stand ready to dance, a figure taller than any human stands before them, the left hand outstretched to touch their heads. This is the *vodu*. And when the hand touches them, they feel a great strength. As they dance, they are no longer themselves, and they remember nothing of what happened when the *vodu* finally leaves them. But when they regain consciousness of the world outside, and are themselves once more, they feel as though something heavy had left them." These comments apply equally well to many of the New World Negro cults.

it with olive oil,^a King Solomon's oil, and oil of Moses before staring intently at the stone. "Concentration" on the stone makes him more receptive to messages from the spirits and deepens his understanding of spiritual matters. In dealing with a serious illness, a river stone, which has in it the spirit of the River Maid, may be placed in a jar or pool of consecrated water to increase the curative powers of the water. Some stones are employed in rituals designed to invoke particular spirits, and others are placed around a flagpole (the seal) or outside a church to ward off evil spirits.^b One leader, whose healing stones are painted white, brings the stones into the church for every service and arranges them around a cement pool of consecrated water. This man believes that the stones clear out evil spirits and bring in various "messengers". When the stones are brought into the church they may be sprinkled with consecrated water or with a mixture of salt and consecrated water or of consecrated water and sugar "to keep the mission a healing place".

Stones which resemble a kidney, a crow, an eraser, an insect, an eye, and so on, may be used in sympathetic magic. When one leader was being sought by the police on an obeah charge, he used a small, smooth stone that he took from a river, as well as a small, rough gray stone which he found in———, in his plea to the spirit (of the stones) for deliverance from his persecutors. Stones may be substituted for bread or fruit in a "table" service when a leader finds it impossible to get to a shop.

When hundreds of rough, wet stones fall on the roof of a house, thrown, it is believed, by duppies, the members of a lower-class household are terrified. Anyone who succeeds in collecting one or more of such stones may make use of them in "destruction" rituals.

Blood is not used extensively in revivalist rituals although three leaders reported killing a sheep, one a dove, and two a goat, before or during the annual "sacrifice" service. One of the latter two sprinkles goat's blood on the ground and on healing stones at this ceremony. Blood is used also in a special kind of "Uplifting table" reported in a later chapter. A blood sacrifice, pigeon or other fowl, or a blood bath, may be a part of the treatment of a sick person.

The leaves (herbs) are important in the revivalist cults of Jamaica, but the writer has no evidence to indicate that they play the same role that they do in Cuban *santeria*, that is, the cleansing of the stones. Vases of leaves, as well as of flowers, are always found on the tables and altars during services and at all other times. Branches with leaves appear on church banners, placards, and wall inscriptions. Leaves are used exten-

^aConcerning the *pierre-loa* (thunder stones) in one Haitian *vodun* temple, Courlander writes: "... In the *pierre-loa* lived the family deities, and much of the ceremony was built around them. The stones had been bathed and polished in oil for the occasion" (19, p. 1). [Emphasis mine].

^bIn a letter to the present writer on July 10, 1955, Harold Courlander remarked: "They (the stones in Haitian *vodun*) are not all the same, that is, some are thunder stones, some are not. Some have *loa* in them, some don't. Some are *gardes* of special kinds, some talk, some do not."

sively for medicinal and magical purposes, especially in the "bush teas" and "bush baths" prescribed by revivalist leaders and others who attempt to cope with illnesses and other misfortunes, including serious court cases and bewitchment. The ingredients for a bush tea or a bush bath may be determined by messages from the spirits, and may consist of some combination of Jack-in-the-Bush, rosemary, tamarind, mint, pear, breadfruit, periwinkle, white dashalong, love bush, devil's horsewhip and dozens of other leaves, plus earth, Jerusalem candlestick, cactus, oil of Jupiter (juniper?) and many other oils.

Water

In Jamaica, as in Haiti and Brazil, water is an important ritual element (42, p. 233; 44, p. 499).^a Glasses of water, usually found on revivalist altars and "tables", are used to summon the spirits. At a nine-night ceremony, the spirit of the dead person supposedly enters the glass of water (82) and other spirits, at other services, do the same. Baptismal ceremonies at Hope River, held once or twice annually for new converts are major events for a revivalist group in West Kingston. Consecrated water may be sprinkled on the floor of a church, or on the ground, during a service, and sometimes during an ordinary church service a leader pours water from a dipper to a jar or from one vessel to another. Belief in the "river maids", creatures that are half human and half fish, cause trouble for some, but give assistance and presents to others. A leader or an obeah man may look into a glass of pure water when providing a "reading" (divining the future) for a client. In one rite for exorcising a malevolent spirit, water is used at a certain point to wash away the evil influence; in another rite a basin filled with water is used in duppy-catching. A person who is ill may be bathed in consecrated water or given a glass of such water to drink.

Family Life and Cult Beliefs

In our discussion of sins and taboos, we have pointed out that some, but not all, deviations from monogamous marriage are justified by revivalist leaders as necessary for many people under present living conditions. This conditional approval of common-law marriage is an important link between religion and family life. Also of importance in West Kingston family life are the supernatural sanctions of common-law marriage found in the way the legal wife, the common-law wife or wives, and the children regard a man's spirit after his death.^b As we have stated previously: "All of a lower-

^a"In many a *hounfor* (vodun shrine) where Damballa is specially revered there is a *bassin* or pool dedicated to him. . ." (19, ch. 9, p. 6).

^bSee M. J. Herskovits' report on acculturation in Porto Alegre, the capital of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in southern Brazil. Herskovits writes: "Aspects of the African patterns of plural marriage with supernatural sanctions derived from the ancestral cult have been retained by the Brazilian Negroes, despite the pressures of majority patterns in favor of the European monogamic tradition . . . The supernatural sanctions of the system become apparent when we consider the manner in which a man's legal wife, his common-law wife or wives and their children regard his spirit after his death" (44, p. 506.)

class Jamaican's 'wives' and all of his children are expected to attend all of his death rituals. The woman nearest the 'table' on these occasions is the 'inside' woman, that is, the woman the man lived with at the time of his death. The other women take orders from her. The children of the 'inside' woman are not necessarily nearer the table than are the other children, nor are each woman's children grouped around her. At a given death rite, some of the man's children sing, some may read Psalms or put bouquets of flowers on the altar, and others may sprinkle perfume on the ground. The 'widows and children', [as in southern Brazil] 'stand in fear of an offended ghost of their dead father and husband' (44, p. 506) and believe that the dead man will disturb them if they do not participate in the services for him. The rites to separate a devotee from his cult and family are held at the wake or on the ninth night after death, but, in some instances, services are held every night for nine nights.^a In theory a memorial service for a dead person should be given annually, at least for several years, but many families in West Kingston cannot afford these services. When such rites are arranged, the spirits of the dead are 'fed',^b as are the dead members of a revivalist group at the time of its annual 'sacrifice' ceremony' (78, p. 89).

Beliefs concerning certain aspects of pregnancy and childbirth indicate further the relationships between revivalism and the family.^c Under certain conditions a woman consults her spiritual or magical adviser about reproductive problems. If she is having "trouble" during pregnancy, that is, if she suspects that an evil spirit is "hanging around", she may seek a remedy. She will not be given anything to be taken by mouth. After a miscarriage, a woman may be told that an evil spirit has "turned her womb upside down" or has interfered in some other way with the pregnancy, and that she should wear a "guard". Prescriptions for abortion and for the cure of sterility are also sought from revivalist leaders and captains as well as from obeah men.

^aIn Southern Brazil, a series of rituals is held for seven nights (44, p. 507).

^bSee (44, p. 508) for similar rites in Southern Brazil.

^cA listing of all Jamaican folk beliefs about these matters was not attempted in the research. Additional data along these lines are given in Martha Beckwith (8) and in Madeleine Kerr (49). In discussing healing formulas, and also in considering revivalism and acculturation, we shall have occasion to return to these subjects.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL RITUALS IN WEST KINGSTON REVIVALISM

Ritual Paraphernalia

Before considering West Kingston rituals, an inventory of ritual paraphernalia is given. All ritual objects are listed together although some revivalist leaders engage in little or no divining, and little or no healing, and some practitioners of obeah possess no "seal," altar, etc. Many men and women combine religious and magical activities, in part for financial reasons and in part because they believe that the combination strengthens their positions. No individual's establishment includes all of the items discussed here.

Typically West Kingston "yards," small tracts of land enclosed by a cactus or other fence, include from three or four to a dozen or more one or two-room houses. Usually a revivalist leader lives in one house and has his "church," often a half-completed shed, next door. Coming into the yard, the first object seen is a "pole" or "seal" (sometimes called the "centre"). This may be only a tall pole with a flag attached to it which bears the name of the church or some mystical symbols, or it may be a pole with a box-like miniature house (ark) at the top, or the yard may have both a tall pole and a pole-box. Often a Bible or other sacred object, is placed in the box, or it may be said that the house is the office of the spirit. In several cases, there were a number of "stations" (pole-houses), usually four or seven, in honour of the spirits. Each of the four stations in one yard, said to represent the angels of the East, West, North, and South, was bordered by flowers and a circle of stones. Each station had a coloured flag appropriate for its messenger.^a An example of one "seal" is given on the next page. If all or part of a ceremony is held in the yard, the "seal" is the centre of the rites.

This pole included, in addition to the house, three bicycle wheels (symbolizing the gift of the spirit, a small ladder leading from the top wheel to the house (representing the ladder that Moses and Jacob saw), two wooden swords (to cut "destruction"), and four painted bands at the bottom of the pole (each colour representing a different prophet).

Few of the church buildings are more than thirty feet long and twenty feet wide, and nearly all have dirt floors. Most are equipped with backless benches, one or more small or medium-sized, plain tables, an altar (in some cases, on a raised platform), and the other equipment described below.

Two of the churches seen by the writer had a rostrum with altar rail and gate, altar and pulpit. In one church the objects on the three-tiered altar

^aAccording to the Herskovitses, "... poles with cloths of various colors attached will be seen everywhere in sacred localities of Africa and in the New World" (46, p. 307).

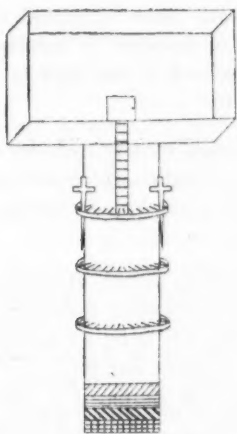
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The 'seal' or 'pole'.

consisted of the following: crackers (biscuits), white fast cups (cups used after breaking a religious fast), a white candle which is always kept burning, two candles which are lighted only during an important service, a crucifix, two wooden crosses, flowers, a glass of consecrated water, a pitcher of consecrated water, and two pictures of Christ (one of Christ on the Cross). Usually there are jars of leaves on the altar, but in this case the leaves, together with a jar of consecrated water, a vase of ferns, flowers, a plain green (healing) flag, a fan, a small memo book, and a pencil, were lying on a table in front of and below the altar.

Ritual clothing varies from the elaborate, multi-coloured robes^a and crowns which are worn by the leader, to the simple white, red, or blue^b dresses and "wraps" (turbans) of the women members and the white suits, or white trousers and shirts, of the men. Some leaders have a number of robes of different designs, colours, and kinds of ornamentation. One white robe was embroidered with the bleeding heart of Jesus, the Moslem star and crescent, and a set of Hebrew characters.

The most important sacred book is, of course, the Bible. An altar, pulpit, or table may have two or three Bibles on it, plus a New Testament. Not infrequently a very large Bible in stiff binding is carried by an officer in a baptismal or other procession. Many leaders possess, or have access to, one or more of the books of magic published by the de Laurence Company of Chicago. These books are forbidden by law in Jamaica, but many are secreted in the

^aOne leader explained that when he is going to undertake any "conjunction" he has to wear a robe. This is necessary to help him get "in the spirit" so that he can "do some work." Without the robe it is "very hard for you."

^bInformants were not unanimous in beliefs concerning the colours which are appropriate for the various spirits, but nearly all agreed that those who work under the influence of Samuel or Gabriel should wear red, at least a red "wrap," while those who are under Michael or Miriam should wear blue or white. White symbolizes purity, and black represents evil and death. Green, and other colours, are not usually worn to church services.

island; *The Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses* is the favourite title. One leader has a "Golden Book of Recipes," a notebook filled with formulas of various kinds. Even this notebook is not kept in his own house because it might be found by the police.

A church's ritual paraphernalia usually includes one or more large wooden crosses (five to seven feet in length) which are carried in baptismal processions. Some of these are plain, some bear inscriptions of this type: "I Am The Good Shepherd" (*sic*).

In addition to one or more flags outside the church, one usually finds flags, banners, placards, and wall inscriptions inside the building. A wall banner bearing the group's name may be hung on a wall except at times when it is carried in a procession. A plain red flag, waved at the beginning of a ceremony to "cut down" all evil spirits, is a common piece of equipment. Examples of the words on banners and placards, and in wall inscriptions, are given below.

Jesus Said These Words:
I Am the Door; By Me Any Man Enter
in, He Shall Be Save
And Shall Go In and Out
And
Find Pasture
John 10:4

REVELATION
Seven Angels, Amen,
Seven Colours, Seven Stations,
Seven Seals, Sign, Amen.

Watch Your Candle
Darkest
Hour Danger

Believe in the
Lord Jesus
Christ
And be Healed

Gethsemane
Ask the Voice of Love
And Mercy, Sound the
Loud From Calvary
Let the Water & the Blood
From Thy Wounding Side Which Flow
Fly to The Shelter of His Cross
AD Find Salvation There.

HOPE FAITH CHARITY

Hear O Isreal The Lord Will
Deliver You
Balming Gileard

Moses Basket
Nile River

Besides placards and wall inscriptions, a church may have one or more framed pictures, usually of Christ, Mary, the prophets, the saints, or of angels. In one church a picture of Queen Elizabeth was prominently displayed. One leader, a very reliable informant, reported that at one time he

drew the figure of a serpent in gold on a board he had painted black, and that he used this object as a sacred picture.

Almost invariably one finds various herbs and flowering plants growing in a small garden in the yard or in large jars or metal containers near the leader's house or church. As indicated previously, altars and tables almost never lack jars of leaves and flowers. Croton leaves, lily leaves, and ferns are among the favourites for this purpose.

The sacred stones, as pointed out in the chapter on the belief system of Jamaican revivalism, are kept in the homes, yards, and churches of most revivalist leaders. Stones which look like polished celts, round stones, stones resembling parts of the human body, stones painted white, and stones carved in the form of a human head or a sheep's head are found, but they may be hidden or, at least, not conspicuously displayed.

Water, usually called "consecrated" or "pure" water is much in evidence in all revivalist churches. Glasses, jars, and pools of water are indispensable; one altar held, among other objects, eight jars of consecrated water. If a pool (cement or a metal tank) is part of the ritual paraphernalia it may be located either in the yard or in the church.

Shepherds' crooks, conjurers' rods, staffs and canes are symbols of office and may be included in a leader's equipment. One heavy conjurer's rod (name used by the leader himself), with a large knob on each end, was waved over a person whose possession was too violent. Other leaders use their rods for the same purpose, but some Captains do not hesitate to "correct" (strike) followers who do not behave properly with the rod. One man had a small iron staff which he likened to the rod and staff of Moses. A "blasting rod" is a fork about three feet long with three prongs at one end.^a A cane, or a whip, like a rod, may be used to chastise followers.

Swords and machetes (wooden or steel), but not knives, serve the same purpose as the red flag. They may be wielded at the beginning of a ceremony to "cut and clean" evil influences (Satan, duppies, and other malicious spirits). A Mother may attach a pair of scissors to her dress belt or cord. Apparently this cutting implement has the same symbolic purpose as the sword, but the writer has seen no use made of scissors in any ritual.

Two other objects may be fastened to a Mother's belt: a whistle and a key. The whistle does not usually serve the same important purpose that it does in Haitian *vodun*, that is, to constitute part of the salutation to the gods at the beginning of a ceremony.^b However, one leader stated that the whistle is blown to warn the spirit that the meeting is about to begin. Nearly all agree that a whistle is blown to stop the singing or to restore order in a

^aThe prongs of the blasting rod are heated red hot in a fire. Then the officiant repeats certain benedictions, calls the messengers he wants, and speaks his desires while thrusting about (blasting) with the rod. It is believed that this is the only thing that Satan fears.

^bHe now rings the handbell and blows his whistle, and at the same time his assistants, who are called *badjicans*, strike the triangle, shake the *chachas*, beat the drums, and wave the ceremonial flags. These acts constitute the *sague*, or salutation to the *vodun* gods. G. E. Simpson (85, p. 240).

meeting. Other uses include blowing a whistle to calm a person who is too strongly possessed by a spirit, and to summon the members for a procession around the table, to the river, etc. The key is "the key to the spirit."

The drum is by far the most important musical instrument used by revivalists. Only four of the thirteen groups that the writer knew had no drums, and very few of the additional dozens of cults which he observed casually made no use of drums. Usually there are two drums: a "rattling" (snare) drum and a "big" (bass) drum, both home-made, or there are two "rattlers." One or more triangles may be used along with drums, rattles, and tambourines. One of the leaders who does not use drums said that he would like to acquire both drums and tambourines. At that time, the singing in his church was accompanied only by rattles and handclapping. Both he and another leader who has no drums bring in such instruments as a trumpet, saxophone, violin, or bass viol for special "functions." A third leader who is without drums conducts his meetings with tambourines and handclapping. One rather ineffectual leader uses only a guitar. A very old man blows on a sea shell to warn people, as Gabriel did with his trumpet, of coming disasters.

Some leaders, and especially those toward the Pocomania end of the revivalist scale, wear several strands of beads, but these beads are not related to African gods as they are in Cuban *santeria*.^a Silver bracelets and large silver rings are worn by some Captains as "guards." A revivalist member may wear a rosary, or one may be placed on the altar. One leader wore a crucifix at the end of his watch chain, a crucifix with a skull and crossbones at the bottom of the vertical piece.^b

The rhumba box, a lineal descendant of the "sansa" (thumb piano) of West Africa, is substituted for the drum in the Ras Tafari political cult of West Kingston, but this instrument is not used by revivalists.^c

Ordinarily only white candles are found on an altar, but candles of other colours are used for the various revivalist "table" ceremonies. White candles alone symbolize purity and peace; black candles alone represent danger and destruction; black and white candles together are for mourning and memorials; blue candles clear out evil spirits; red candles mean love; pink and green candles are for prosperity.

It is believed by revivalists that each angel "carries" a different perfume, and that perfumes can be used to invoke Michael, Gabriel, Miriam, Raphael, Uriel, Jeremiah, and "other Bible saints." Among the "nice" perfumes are: Attar of rose, Attar of Gibahar, St. Francis perfume, and perfume of

^aSee W. R. Bascom (5, p. 14). Beads are also important in Afro-Brazilian cults; cf., for instance Roger Bastide's *Estudos Afro-Brasileiros* (6) where usages similar to West Africa are discussed.

^bWhen asked about the skull and crossbones, this leader said that they made certain that Christ was buried.

^cA photograph of a rhumba box (called the "marimba" in Haiti) is shown in G. E. Simpson (81, p. 9).

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love. Various scents are mixed to obtain special combinations which are attractive to certain of the saints. Perfume is sprinkled around the house of the leader or the client, but not in the church. We have observed leaders sprinkling perfume on their clothing and that of some of their main officers before a ceremony begins. "Bad" perfumes, used to invoke the messengers of the Devil, include among others: oil of compellance, oil of musk (this can also be used for good purposes), oil of power, oil of lightning, oil of thunder, and dead man's drops. (All of these "perfumes" or "oils" can be purchased at certain drug stores on the edge of West Kingston.)

Some leaders burn incense in their homes while reading the Bible or when they sense that some misfortune is occurring or is about to occur. Incense may be burned at "memorial" tables, but not at other tables. "Temple" incense may be used in Christmas and Easter services and on other very special occasions. Frankincense and myrrh may be employed in magical rites such as those designed to compel the spirit of a dead person to provide a message for the living relatives.

Some cult groups in West Kingston include a "compass" in their ritual equipment. Basically a "compass" consists of four poles representing the four cardinal directions. The largest "compass" known to the writer is erected over a cement pool in which a large earthenware water jar stands. Another type of "chart and compass," also made of wood, points to the four main directions and is used in making spiritual decisions.

Foodstuffs are not ordinarily kept in revivalist churches, although one may at times see crackers (biscuits) on an altar or altar table at a ceremony following a period of fasting. In June, 1953 mangoes were observed on some altars, and in late August, September and October one or two ears of corn were noticed in several churches. These may have been first-fruit offerings.^a At the various "table" services, loaves of bread in the form of doves, crowns, etc., cakes, mangoes, pineapples, unsalted rice, goat meat, lamb, and bottles of aerated water are placed on the white-clothed, long table along with candles of different colours, jars of leaves and of flowers, and glasses of consecrated water. At these services, held in the church or the yard (occasionally at a member's house), coffee, green tea, and "bush" teas may be served. Rum is not placed on the altar or the "table" nor is it consumed during a service.^b Some leaders drink rum or smoke ganja (marijuana) before a meeting to help them get "in the spirit," and revivalists may

^aIn Porto Alegre, Brazil, Herskovits found that oranges were placed before shrines during the orange harvest. (44, p. 499).

^bOne Revival Zionist leader said: "The spirit is against rum and tobacco. It doesn't look proper to have drinking and smoking at a ceremony. The spirit wouldn't come. No one could get in the spirit. The smell of tobacco is not liked by the Christian spirit. Rum is not appreciated by the Christian spirit. If a person is under the influence of liquor, the liquor and the spirit cannot agree. You can't work for good and for evil at the same time. People who do evil have to use a lot of rum. These are Poco people or private individuals [obeah men.]"

drink rum immediately after a funeral service or a nine-night ceremony. A few of those who practice healing and conjuring, preachers or obeah men, use ganja to assist them in receiving messages from the spirits.

Milk and honey may be used to cure disease, and sometimes they are brought into a communion service. Evil people use them to invoke evil spirits by leaving them on the altar, a table, or a shelf so that they are available to the spirits.^a Rote (unleavened bread rolled thin) is sometimes used as spirit food, that is, when a revivalist is in the spirit he may call for rote, believing that it is satisfying to the spirit for him to eat this food. Other "spirit" foods include: greens such as callalou, raw cabbage, tomato salad, coffee, green tea, whisky, and brandy. On occasion a good spirit may call for these foods and drinks, and some of them may be left as offerings on the altar.

If a leader engages in healing or conjuring, he will keep, either in his house or in the church, a small supply of ointments and simple drugs. The main reliance of the healers (in addition to prayer, consecrated water, and the laying on of hands) is placed in "bush" teas which have various physiological effects on their clients. A few practitioners believe that ganja can be used as a medicine. For certain purposes, asafetida^b (also known in Jamaica as devil's dung) may be employed.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

The "Divine Worship" Service

"Divine worship" services are held in revivalist churches every Sunday night and on two or three week-day nights. These services follow a fairly definite pattern from night to night, and even from one church to another. Usually a period of preliminary drumming precedes the appearance of the leader and the beginning of the main part of the service. The leader's entrance stimulates the singing and its accompaniment by the drums, tambourines, rattles, and handclapping. The leader moves easily and confidently through the early stages of the service as he (or she) asks the members and onlookers to "sound another chorus" or to sing "that good old Baptist hymn." Prayers by the leader, prayers given individually, but simultaneously and aloud by the members, Bible reading, announcements, singing, preaching, "labouring in the spirit," spirit possession, and public testimonials alternate at brief intervals. No sermon, in the usual sense of that term, is given. Instead, there are many impromptu speeches by the minister, with only a few minutes given to each of them.

^aThe entreater calls the name of the evil spirit and explains what he wants done. Among these evil spirits are the Princes or Ministers of the Devil: Mahazel, Azaiel, Reyns, Pagmon, Egyen, etc. Such spirits show their appreciation for this food by granting the wishes of the entreater.

^b"The fetid gum resin of various Persian and East Indian plants of the genus *Ferula*. . . It has a strong odor and taste of garlic." *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

In some cases, as in Zulu Zionist churches in South Africa, the leader is the only owner of a Bible and he may not be able to read. Despite this handicap such a leader often has a surprising ability to cite chapter and verse in discussing the subjects in which he is interested, e.g., baptism, healing, sins and taboos, the "spirit," etc. (88, p. 275). Sunday night services begin about seven o'clock and continue until eleven or twelve, or even later; frequently the meeting ends with a period of public healing.

Among the favourite songs of Revival Zionists in West Kingston are these Baptist and Methodist hymns and Sankeys: How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds; I Heard the Voice of Jesus Say; Just As I Am Without One Plea; A Charge to Keep I Have; and I Was a Wandering Sheep. Still more popular are these titles of uncertain origin: Day After Yesterday; Sun, Moon and Stars—They Shine So Bright; Watch and Pray; Where Shall I Go?; At the Cross; Like Sheep We Went Astray; Glory Be to God, He'll Set Me Free Some Day; and I'll Be So Happy With Jesus By My Side. Most of the songs in the latter group seem to have evolved in revivalist meetings. Often one or two stanzas of one of these songs is sung again and again for a period of ten or fifteen minutes.

The following are examples of the piecemeal preaching of revivalist leaders. "Did you ever see a white preacher west of Slipe Pen Road?" Chorus: "No!" "If it wasn't for these small missions bringing the gospel of Jesus Christ to the poor people there would be more people in prison than there are now." Another leader asked: "Is Zionism superstitious voodoo?" I say it is the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Oh, yes! We haven't been to no college. We have learned from the spirit. Some people can't get the spirit because they are not clean. They are not pure; they have not lived the right way. Some people don't believe that we can heal by the spirit, but we are going to have testimonials later tonight and we are going to have faith healing. Sometimes there are bystanders on the outside who do not believe that the spirit can heal, but when they see what we can do they become believers. Now we are going to sing another song and then I am going to take up the collection."

The Baptismal Cycle: "Vowing," Immersion, and Communion

A person who has been immersed once need not be baptized again if he joins another church. Those who have been sprinkled only or who have been baptized by a woman need to be re-baptized.^a Usually John 3 is cited to indicate that a man must be born again, that is, baptized in order to be eligible to enter Heaven. Baptism, as one leader said, "is only the outward sign of spiritual grace, of sanctification." Children who die before the age of twelve, he holds, are not responsible for the sins they have committed. Children over twelve "have to be justified by grace in connection with re-

^aOne leader said: "The Lord Jesus Christ did not commission women to go into the water and baptize. Baptism by a woman is the same as never being baptized." Another leader said: "John the Baptist wasn't a woman; he was a man. I don't find anything in the Bible about a woman baptizing."

penance to receive forgiveness. They must be sorry for wrongs committed, and confession must be made to God by those individuals. Otherwise they might be lost souls and receive divine punishment according to Scripture." Another man "preaches baptism all the time," saying "Be baptized and change your way of life." In some churches an attempt is made to hold a "preparation class" for baptism during the three months before the baptismal ceremonies. In the revivalist cult centres known to the writer, candidates are not secluded before baptism but they are told that continence is required, that they should be serious and sober during the week before the ceremonies, and that fasting before baptism is optional. No period of seclusion, nor any restrictions on the individual such as not handling a knife or a cutlass, are imposed after the rites. The eyes of the novitiate are not bound during immersion and he does not receive a new name after baptism. A new member is not required to demonstrate his spiritual power and ability in a hymn that has been revealed only to him, but at the first meeting after immersion each individual testifies concerning his baptismal experience and speaks about his determination "to carry on the spiritual work." According to one leader: "Many people say they get a hymn, chapter, or Psalm, or that they hear voices or get tongues as they come out of the water. They recite or call for the chapter or Psalm to be read or sing the hymn. Such people have those hymns or chapters before they go into the water. I tell my people not to adopt those principles. It is better for them just to have Christ in their minds than to be thinking what they are going to say. I believe and teach that whatever develops after baptism comes from the person's own faith and belief." He added that most, but not all, of his followers get "in the spirit" as they come out of the water. Another leader said: "The minister may give a hymn, a chapter or a Psalm to a person just before immersion as a 'baptism souvenir,' or the person may get it himself as he comes out of the water. In this case he says that the spirit has given it to him." According to this man, the belief is that a person who gets the spirit and speaks in tongues is a very good candidate.^a

^aConcerning the Shouters of Trinidad, the Herskovitses write: "Instruction before baptism, revelation of the hymn, psalm, and chapter, binding the eyes of the novitiate, baptism in 'living' water and the ensuing possession by 'de Holy Ghos' is comparable in New World practice to the preinitiation African custom of washing the head to dedicate it to the god, without, however, making the individual a full-fledged cult-member. In Africa, after the deity signifies his desire for the one he has selected to be trained to his service, the initiation, once begun, must continue until completed, though it may be deferred until the family has resources adequate to support the cost of induction into the cult. . . . Other details are that the one takes a new name after mourning, and that at the ritual which marks the emergence of a group from their initiatory experience, each novitiate demonstrates his spiritual power and ability. In Africa and the New World countries mentioned [Brazil, Haiti, "and in all likelihood, in Cuba as well"], like in the Trinidad Shango cult, this takes the form of performance in the dance. That in the Shouters' temples it is expressed in testimony given, or in a spiritual hymn that has been revealed only to the initiate, indicates the form that this particular reinterpretation of aboriginal custom has taken under Protestant concepts of the Universe and Protestant modes of worship. One striking correspondence that represents a retention of African custom in Shouters' post-mourning practice is the need for one who has returned from mourning ground to remain in seclusion for a few days. The African

(Continued at foot of next page)

Some revivalist leaders do not have enough standing to permit them to conduct baptismal rites. Such persons engage a leader of greater prestige to immerse their candidates. Usually an official who is entitled to baptize (Leader, Captain, Shepherd, Mother) erects a cross at the river or the sea so that his ceremonies may be held at the same place each time.

In theory a woman candidate provides herself with three new white dresses for the baptismal ceremonies: a "water" dress, one to wear home from the river, and a third dress for the Communion service in the evening. A man may be baptized in white trousers and a white shirt, but he is supposed to have a white suit for Communion. If he can afford two white suits, one is worn on the way home from baptism and the other is worn to the Communion service.

Leaders prefer to hold several baptisms each year, four if possible, but if there are no candidates, or if the candidates are not spiritually prepared or cannot provide themselves with the proper clothing, more than a year may pass before the rites can be staged. The ceremonies begin in the church Saturday night with the "Vowing" service. The main events in one such service follow. The Deacon, or another officer, hands each candidate a white candle (candle may be of any size up to ten inches and is purchased by the candidate a day or so before the service). The new members kneel on both knees, and the following song is sung before the candles are lighted:

Behold the wretch who lust and wine and wasted
[his estate.

He begged a share among the swine,
To taste the husks they eat.
I die with hunger ere he cries,
I starve in foreign land.
My Father's house of large supplies
And bounteous are his hands.

The candles are now lighted and the following hymn is sung by everyone except the candidates.

Take off his clothes of shame and sin,
The Father give command.
Dress them in garment white and clean,
With rings adorn his hand.

theory, blurred in its retention here, is that the spiritual experience has been such as to wipe out earlier training; that the initiate is a child, and must re-learn secular tasks, such as the use of tools and utensils and the performance of skills associated with everyday living, so as to execute them with effectiveness and without personal hurt. The phrasing of the Shouters, that care must be taken lest the spiritual quality of the gift gained in the mourning ground be impaired by too abrupt contact with the workaday world, shows solicitude for the power rather than the individual to whom it has been vouchsafed. But the statement that, 'they musn't handle a knife or cutlass or handle money,' is too much like the symbolic reintegration of the initiate into the daily round, found in West Africa and among Afro-Brazilians, to be fortuitous" (46, pp. 307). Some of the baptismal beliefs and practices mentioned by the Herskovitses which the present writer did not encounter may exist in West Kingston or elsewhere in Jamaica.

A day of feasting I ordain,
Let mirth and joy abound.
My Son was dead and live again,
Was lost and now is found.

The leader now asks each individual if he "is conscious of baptism and what we are doing." After receiving affirmative answers, the leader asks the candidates several questions "about Christianity" and again they answer affirmatively. He then asks them to repeat this vow after him, one line at a time.

Lord take me down to Hell.
Show me my sins and my condemnation,
Help me to abstain from them
And do them no more.
Witness ye men and angels,
Before the Lord I kneel.
To Thee I made a solemn vow,
A vow I dare not break.

This vow is taken individually with the leader's hand resting on the candidate's head. When it is completed, the Deacon puts the candle out and takes it from the candidate.^a

Many of the baptismal rites of West Kingston churches are held at the Hope River, and the seven to ten mile march begins at midnight after the vowing ceremony. An officer carrying the church's banner leads the procession, followed by others carrying Bibles and other objects needed for the ceremony. The members sing as they march, and the destination is reached about three o'clock Sunday morning. After a period of rest, a preliminary service may be held before the main ceremony is conducted at five-thirty or six o'clock. During one baptismal service which the writer witnessed, the leader and an assistant waded into a pool made by a dam his assistants had constructed across the Hope River, and then each initiate stepped into the pool as his turn came. A Bible verse was quoted (verses from Matthew 3 or John 3 are the favourites) and the candidate was immersed with the usual baptismal words. The "Water Mother" took charge of a woman as she came out of the water, covering her with a sheet or a large towel, and, if necessary, calming her possession.

After all candidates have been baptized, the procession forms and marches from the river. In some cases, the members take a bus on the return trip to West Kingston. The Communion service for old and new members is held in the church at eleven in the morning or in the evening.

A Communion service observed in a West Kingston revivalist church in

^aVowing services in some groups are less elaborate than the one described above. For example, another leader "warns" about the Christian life, each candidate swears he will live "a godly, righteous, and sober life" and then kisses the Bible. At one vowing service the leader, obviously emotionally upset, announced that there were fewer candidates than they had expected because his enemies were persecuting him. He devoted half an hour or more to relating his "trials and tribulations" during the past week.

October, 1953 was notable for the large crowd in attendance, the high spirits of everyone present, and, in its concluding phase, its dignity and effectiveness. The meeting began with the usual handclapping, drumming, singing, praying, and Bible reading. Excerpts from the instalment preaching on this occasion are: "I know you must be happy finding yourselves in the wonderful kingdom of Jesus Christ... I want you to believe tonight that Jesus Christ saves, that He sanctifies, that He heals... Believe in Jesus Christ and be baptized for the remission of your sins. All of you who are here tonight who believe in Jesus Christ, repent and be baptized for the remission of your sins... Love the Lord with all your soul and with all your heart... I am thanking the Lord tonight that there are no fights, no quarrels, no contentions, no murders, but just a happy set of people. Am I right? Amen... Now, brothers and sisters, I feel wonderful in my heart tonight... I am for the Church of God in Christ. What is the Church of God in Christ? I am not telling you that I am Jesus Christ. I know that I am a sinner saved by grace, saved by Jesus Christ..." The responsive "Amens" from the group were numerous and enthusiastic during the leader's discourses. Several believers got "in the spirit" and a child was christened before the service came to an end with a skilful administration of the Communion rites. The Communion ceremony itself differed but little from an established Protestant church except for its meagre ritual accoutrements.

One leader insists that no drums, rattles, or tambourines are used in his Communion services. To keep the ceremony "purely spiritual," the music consists only of singing and handclapping. This official prefers Psalms such as the 1st and the 133rd for the Bible reading on this occasion, and he "takes" his sermon from St. Matthew or St. John. He tries to provide attractive flowers and fruits for the altar or table, and he uses milk mixed with red wine and bread, biscuits or light cakes for the Communion rite.

Christening Rite

Babies are christened in Revival Zion churches at regular or special services. During the October Communion service mentioned above, time was taken for the christening of a very young baby. The leader repeated the child's name, made the sign of the cross on his forehead with consecrated water, sprinkled him three times with this water in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Following his request that an older member of the church serve as the infant's godmother, the leader gave a talk on the proper way of rearing a child.

Tables

A "table" is a combined religious service and feast. "Table" ceremonies are arranged for a variety of reasons, the most important being: thanksgiving, uplifting (deliverance), mourning (memorial service for a dead member of a family), money-raising, the annual "sacrifice," and "destruction." Memorial tables, the annual sacrifice ceremony, and "destruction" rites are discussed in later sections of this chapter.

The simplest of the "tables" are those given for thanksgiving and money-raising purposes. A person who has been healed, or who has won a court case or has been released from jail, may wish to offer thanks to the spirit for his good fortune. On such an occasion, singing, praying, Bible reading, speech-making, and eating continue nearly all night. The expenses for a thanksgiving table are paid by the person who is expressing his gratitude. One money-raising table which the writer observed in July, 1953 had as its purpose the collection of funds for the baptismal ceremonies which the group expected to hold a week later. A part of the money was to be spent for a new ceremonial robe for the leader. The long table was covered by a white cloth, and white candles, pineapples, mangoes, bananas, and aerated waters had been placed on the table. After the usual drumming, singing, and praying, the leader explained the purpose of the table and invited those present to come forward and light the candles on the table. Each person who lighted a candle left a coin on the table. The same procedure was followed in lighting the ten white candles on the altar. In addition to the candles, the following objects were seen on the altar: two earthen jars, one large glass jug of consecrated water, several empty half-pint glass jars, mangoes, bananas, a wooden baton about eighteen inches long and an inch in diameter engraved with Hebrew letters and the Roman numerals XII, CXXI, III, and VII. The leader then "performed his duty" by reading the 65th Psalm and Revelation 7. Singing, "spiritual" dancing, and "jumping" (spirit possessions), brief messages from the leader, healing, and "breaking" the table (distributing the food on the table) prolonged the service until after two o'clock in the morning.

An interesting money-raising table was observed on a Sunday evening in June, 1953, in the yard where the house of an officer of a branch of the Jamaica Labour Party is located. Funds on this occasion were being collected to build a new shelter for this branch of the J.L.P. A prominent revivalist leader from the neighbourhood, invited to act as a master of ceremonies, had led a procession of his followers to the yard. More than one hundred persons crowded into the yard, and each was charged an admission of three pence. The usual long white-clothed table had been set up, and there were thirty white candles evenly spaced around it, with a pink candle on each corner and one green candle at each end of the table. Two large white candles stood at the centre of the table, and mangoes, pineapples, plain and fancy loaves of bread, and bottles of aerated water completed the contents of the table. The visiting revivalist leader took charge of the singing, gave a short speech of welcome, offered a long prayer, recited most of the 91st Psalm, and invited those present to light a candle for "a shilling, two shillings, sixpence, thruppence, a pound (laughter), or whatever you can afford to give." Finally, the leader spoke in praise of the J.L.P. He said that the Jamaica Labour Party is looking after the interests of the people, and that it was the Bustamante Industrial Workers' Union which first opened

the eyes of the Jamaican people. William Alexander Bustamante, he said, is a man of God, and Jesus Christ stands at the side of the Honourable William Alexander Bustamante telling him what to do. There is a wonderful woman too, he said, a woman named Rose Leon, who is doing a wonderful work. More singing and drumming followed this speech, and a few women got in the spirit. Another visiting revivalist leader, called upon for a speech, also eulogized Mr. Bustamante, saying that he had become Chief Minister in the Government because of his hard labour. He said that things were much better than they were in the days before Bustamante. He spoke about the futility of the temporal side of life without the spiritual side, and added that the important thing was for all of them to stay united. A deacon from the second leader's church then spoke about being with Mr. Bustamante when the armed forces were about to fire on a group of demonstrators. While these men were speaking, the first leader stood by smiling and saying "Oh, Yes, Oh, Yes," or repeating the first or last words of a sentence uttered by the speaker. More singing, "trumping" (labouring in the spirit) and "jumping" followed these speeches. Finally, the leader in charge said that it was midnight, and, therefore, time to "break" the table. After washing his hands, he turned one of the fancy loaves of bread around, saying that he wanted it to face the East because "you know what it means when you face the West. It means you are going down hill, and we are not going down hill. We are going up hill." He then invited the people to come to the table and partake of the food that was there.

In some cases, a "preparation" (money-raising) table is given to obtain funds for a mourning (memorial) table.

"Uplifting" (deliverance) tables fall into two general categories: (a) those that are given to "cut destruction" (gain freedom from evil spirits), and (b) the "rising" table given by a new convert who has been "on the ground" to celebrate her release from the spirit. Among the "great dangers" from which a person seeks deliverance are: illness; unemployment; family or cult troubles; and sins which the person himself has committed and is worried about. If a person who is in trouble is too poor to pay the three or four pound cost (candles, food, flowers) of an "uplifting" table, contributions are made by fellow cult members, relatives and friends.

An "uplifting" table given in July, 1953 which the writer did not attend had as its purpose the solution of a woman's difficulties with a deserting "husband." The meeting began with singing and praying, followed by the burning of frankincense and myrrh for about five minutes, and then the following Psalms were read: 118th, 91st, 145th, 144th, and 65th. (The 145th Psalm is believed to be particularly efficacious in delivering people from *roack-roa* (Satan). The woman in trouble was placed at the head of the table facing East, with one woman standing on her right and another on her left. Special prayers were said for her and "for the development of her life" by the leader. Singing, accompanied by drums, tambourines, and rattles,

followed, and there was "spiritual" dancing and possession by the spirit. The table was "broken" at two in the morning.

The principal method of atoning for sin is fasting and praying for three days or for a week. The sinner spends half of each day, alone or with other members of her church, in fasting, praying, and concentrating (thinking about the good and the evil of the world). These acts are carried out in the person's home, but at the end of the period she testifies in church that she knew she had wronged someone (this person may or may not be named) and that she sought advice about fasting. As one leader said: "The person is trying to get a closer connection with God or with someone she believes in, in the hope that she will get release and rest in her mind." He said that some people do dangerous things, things they are sorry about later, such as telling wicked lies about other persons, breaking up somebody's home by tale-bearing, or breaking away from God and going to someone who worships the Devil. Under these circumstances, sometimes a follower or a client suggests, or the leader suggests, giving an uplifting table. At the beginning of the table service, the leader says that the sister came to him for advice a week or so ago, but he does not explain the wrong she has done. In her testimony, the sinner may be specific and confess her wrongdoing or she may speak in general terms, saying only that she has done wrong. The purpose of the feast is to re-unite the sinner and the person or persons she has wronged. If the person who has been wronged is far away, everyone present prays for that person.

A more serious type of "deliverance" table involves inviting one or more dead persons, instead of God, Michael, and others, to attend the ceremony. When asked if there wasn't an inconsistency here since dead persons are dismissed at the time of death or soon thereafter and told never to return, the revivalists' reply is that a person so dismissed is never called back. A dead person who has never been dismissed because his relatives thought they might want to use him some time may be called back. According to some revivalists, the only dead persons who are dismissed forever are those who, it is believed, will become evil spirits.

In a special type of uplifting table, a goat is killed at a secret, preliminary service before the regular service begins. Those present include the leader, the officers of the church, and the person who is in danger. The 65th Psalm is read, the leader and three of the other officers who are present pray, and the leader delivers a message called a "benediction." The leader then "talks his desires over the animal," that is, he states that someone wants "to be uplifted from a terrible danger." He explains why he is destroying the animal, saying that this is a feast given by ----- . If this person can read, he is asked to read the 118th Psalm, otherwise the Psalm is read for him by a Mother or other officer. Cold, consecrated water is sprinkled lightly on the goat's head, and the leader asks one of the elders to cut off the animal's head. This must be done with a sharp weapon because the animal is not supposed to bleat or cry. The leader takes a little

of the blood and traces the sign of the cross on the individual's forehead. The rest of the blood is caught in a vessel—no blood is allowed to run onto the ground. About half the blood is put aside in a vessel; the other half is mixed with honey and white wheat flour, cooked into a kind of cake and placed on the altar. The body of the goat is cut up and curried. It is cooked with coconut oil, onions, garlic, and scallions in an earthen pot. At the table proper there are testimonies, including a statement by the person giving the table, Bible readings, prayer, and remarks by the leader to the effect that he believes that the harassed person will now "be perfect and that his desires will be given unto him." Plain cooked rice is brought from the kitchen at the time of the feast; bread and fruits have already been placed on the table. The leader serves honey and milk mixed together, and then bread, rice, and curried goat are served. Fruits are served last. The other half of the goat's blood is used to give the person sponsoring the ceremony a bath. The blood is mixed with consecrated water, and the individual is bathed immediately after the ceremony if convenient, otherwise this is done the next morning. Also, an offering is made to the spirit (Michael, Raphael, Miriam, or "to whichever spirit happens to attend") by placing a small amount of rice, a little piece of curried goat, and some of the honey-white flour-goat's blood mixture on a saucer and putting it on the altar. The next morning the altar offering is buried at the foot of the altar. This service is said to be given infrequently and that there must be a special reason for holding it.^a

At the "rising" type of uplifting table, the person who has risen from the ground stands at the head of the table. At approximately eleven o'clock she testifies concerning what she did while "on the ground." Usually she reports travelling to the river and seeing people there who were lily white. This statement is taken to refer to angels, and others then testify about their experiences.

The following account of an uplifting table for three new converts is not typical of such tables, but it is the only "rising" table which the writer attended. One table of approximately twenty feet in length stood in the centre of the yard, with six smaller tables placed at intervals around the open space. The tables contained candles, loaves of bread in the form of baskets of fruit, doves, etc., slices of fresh pineapple, mangoes, and other fruits. The yard was lighted by kerosene flares. People began to gather in the street outside the yard at nine o'clock, but there was little activity inside the yard until after ten o'clock. There was some singing at ten-thirty, but the

^aThe writer did not observe this kind of uplifting table. This account was provided by one of his most knowledgeable and most reliable informants. Accounts of blood baths were obtained from a number of informants, and the details of this service do not differ essentially from those of the "annual sacrifice" ceremony. Data on the latter rite were obtained from the leaders of six cult groups, and is given later in this chapter. Some of the acts, i.e., the manner of sacrificing the animal, the care in allowing none of the blood to fall on the ground, and tracing a cross on the forehead of the person for whom the ceremony is given, are exactly the same as acts observed by the writer in *vodun* ceremonies in northern Haiti (G. E. Simpson, 83, p. 252).

Shepherd was not present. When the Shepherd appeared he was interested in getting some rum. This was found and consumed, and the Shepherd came into the yard at eleven o'clock supporting himself with two six-foot staffs. His chief refrain was: "One anddddddd twoooo anddddddd onnnne anddddd twooooo anddddddd brrrrrrr. One . . . anddddd threeeeee anddddd fourrrrr and brrrrrrr." After circling the tables, this leader left the yard, presumably to put on his ceremonial robe, but he did not reappear until after midnight. In the meantime, a woman assistant read long passages from the Bible, another officer gave a long prayer, and there was singing and "trumping." Four persons who were "in the spirit" whirled around the yard, crawled in and out under the tables, trembled, and moaned. These persons were assisted in the usual way by the "armour bearers." Shortly after midnight, the Mother in charge said: "I am not expecting Shepherd _____ tonight. I am asking the three new converts to see me." Within a few minutes Shepherd _____ and four other men came out of his nearby bedroom dressed in elaborate robes and mitre hats. This group did not proceed immediately to the yard; they sang and _____ sprinkled perfume on them and on himself. After ten or fifteen minutes, they marched into the yard, singing, prancing, whirling, and showing off their robes. The Shepherd repeated his "Oneeee anddddddd twooooo anddddddd onnnne anddddddd twooooo brrrrrrr" routine. This march around the main table continued for nearly an hour. The table had not yet been "broken" at the time the writer left.

DEATH RITES

Most of the dead are not embalmed in Jamaica, but other preparations are made by some lower-class Jamaicans living in West Kingston prior to the funeral ceremony. The body must be washed, the chin tied,^a and the eyes closed to prevent the dead person from looking back for someone and causing him to die soon. Other precautions which are still taken include the following: cutting the pockets away so that the duppy cannot fill them with stones and annoy the living on his return;^b watching to see that no one obtains body fluids with which to practice evil magic; and the placing of certain objects in the coffin.^c Also, to prevent a dead child from coming

^aOne informant said he had not seen the chin-tying custom observed in West Kingston, but that he had seen it in the country. He added that sometimes the two big toes are tied together, but he doesn't know why this is done.

^bThis practice was reported by W. J. Gardner (32, p. 186).

^cThe thing which is most often placed in the coffin is the wrap (turban) of the dead person. Twenty or twenty-five years ago it was common to place membership cards, baptismal certificates, etc., in the coffin, but this is rarely done today. Occasionally and especially in the country, a stick, razor, knife, or a pair of scissors is put up the sleeve of a person who is thought to have been killed. Other items which informants reported have been put in coffins include: vials of oil for the dead to use; a letter of request asking the dead person for help; a doll for a dead twin (child) to prevent it from returning to "worry" the living twin (an adult twin stands at the foot of the coffin and publicly dissociates himself from the dead twin except that he says he is willing for the dead twin to come back to help him); and half of a diagonally torn handkerchief. The latter object is placed in the coffin by a man's widow as she tells him that she is through with him and that she doesn't want to see or hear him again.

back to bother the other children in the family, each living child is passed three times over the coffin.

Sweeping the room after the coffin is removed symbolizes sweeping out the spirit of the dead person. Close relatives, with the exception of the surviving husband or the surviving wife, follow the body to the grave. If such a person goes to the cemetery at the time of the funeral, it is believed that he or she will soon die. For nine nights a glass of water is left in the room where the person died, and a lighted lamp is kept in this room during the same period.^a Spirit food, i.e., unsalted rice, plus rum, or wine, may be left in the room on the ninth night after death if the person was a leader or a healer.

Wake

If a dead person is not embalmed, the wake or "set-up" comes on the night of death and the funeral is held the following day. If there is embalming, the funeral service is on the third or fourth day after death. If there is a delay before the funeral, a set-up, or at least talking, occurs every night between the time of death and the funeral. Singing constitutes one of the main aspects of a set-up. Some of the African aspects of the wake in Toco, Trinidad, i.e., pouring water about the house, and in front of the coffin, and the *bongo* dance are not found in West Kingston. Story-telling and game-playing, important parts of the West Kingston nine-night ceremony, may or may not be included in a wake. One African element which is a feature of the West Kingston wake is addressing the dead person with candour (46, p. 301). He may be told: "Remember that you are dead. You have no part with the living. Leave this house and leave your wife and children alone. Don't make mischief. Don't let us see you around. Remember that the living and the dead are not to be together. Stay where you are" According to some informants, offerings to the dead in general may be made at a wake.^b

Funerals

All of a lower class Jamaican's "wives" and all of his children are expected to attend his funeral and all of the other death rituals. All of a woman's children are supposed to come to her funeral, but only the man with whom the woman was living at the time of her death comes to this service. Other relatives, friends, neighbours, cult and society associates also attend. The children and friends "pool together" to pay the funeral expenses of £10 to £20 (a very expensive funeral in West Kingston would

^aSee Gardner (32, p. 186) for an account of these practices in the nineteenth century.

^bAn interesting parallel is found in a Haitian "degradation" ceremony reported by the writer. "The officiating *houngan* in continuing speaks directly to the dead man: 'Boss Marius, here is a *canari* that your heirs have especially prepared for you so that in the future you will not have any trouble and demand other sacrifices of them. You others, the dead, you are always unreasonable. Because you have peace you forget that the times are hard and that on this earth we unfortunate men are crushed by suffering. Leave your family in peace after this service, Boss Marius. Do not torment them, and do not send illnesses to their children or misery to their older people. You were always a good father when you were living. Continue to protect your family after death. If you need other services give abundantly to your heirs in order to obtain satisfaction. Oh, good father, good servant, good parent, good friend! Good-by! Do not forget us as we shall not forget you'" (79, p. 156).

cost £45). The children bring flowers, sprinkle perfume on the dead person (and, perhaps, on the ground), powder his face, indicate before the ceremony starts which songs they wish sung, and sing or read Psalms during the service. The children, relatives, and friends circle the coffin before the minister comes for the ceremony (they move around in step: 1, 2; 1, 2; but no one calls out the steps). The funeral service consists of hymn-singing, Bible-reading, praying, and preaching. Some of those in the funeral procession may become possessed by the spirit on the way to the cemetery or after the coffin is placed in the grave.]

Nine-Night Ceremony

There was virtually unanimous agreement among the revivalists the writer knew on the desirability of holding nine-night ceremonies and memorial services, although opinions differed on the most appropriate times for the latter. Some Revival Zion leaders believe that a service, based on the tradition of Christ's resurrection, should be held for a dead person on the third night after death. They advocate a meeting of the leader, two church officers, and the members of the deceased person's family in the family home for about ten minutes between six and nine in the evening. Three white candles are lighted, and the group sings, prays, and reads one of the Psalms (the 90th is often the one selected).

West Kingston revivalists believe that the spirit of a dead person returns to its home on the ninth night after death.^a If it is financially possible, lower class Jamaicans arrange a service for that night, and sometimes there is a service every night for nine nights.^b

Although there are variations in nine-night services in West Kingston, a general pattern is readily discerned. The ceremony is presided over by a chairman or a secretary appointed by relatives of the deceased. This official names the hymns to be sung,^c leads the singing, and reads passages from the

^aWhile discussing nine-night services on one occasion with a very well-informed Revival Zionist, the writer asked if he knew of any Biblical reference to the nine-night. The leader replied that he didn't know of such a reference, but that he knows there is "some spiritual movement on that night." He added "Some say it is not godly, that it is devilish. These people believe that when a man is dead he is dead, but I don't believe that. The body is gone, but the spirit is still alive. There is proof that all does not end with death. Saul went to the Witch of Endor and had her bring up Samuel [1 Kings 28: 7-24] so that he might ask him what to do in his fight against his enemies. In the transfiguration of Christ [Matthew 17: 2; Mark 9: 2-3], Jesus took Peter, James and John with him and then called up Moses and Elias. So there is proof in the Bible that a spirit can be summoned from the dead, otherwise the Bible would not be true. If it is not really true, then somebody is fooling us. I know it is true."

^bIn southern Brazil, a series of rituals is held for seven nights. (M. J. Herskovits 44, p. 507). 'Concerning Haitian *vodun* custom, Courlander writes: "Approximately nine days after a person's death, the 'last prayers' are said and the soul of the deceased is presumed to have departed from the house. Once more there are games, story-telling, and singing . . . also drumming and dancing. These festivities are believed to give cheer to the deceased, and to 'encourage' him on his way. The next night comes the *mangé mort*, the feast for the family dead, a ritual which continues periodically through the years . . . you may come upon an old tomb or grave before which a dish of specially-prepared food has been set. This is part of the *mangé mort* ritual" (19, Chap. 8).

^cSometimes a person in the crowd will call out: "Hymn and page continued." This 'is a request for the same song, but a different tune.



A Mother Leading Revivalist Singing.

PLATE 2.



Armour Bearer Assisting Possessed Devotee.



Revival Zion Leader with Staff.



The 'Table' at a Revival Zion Church Dedication.

PLATE 5.

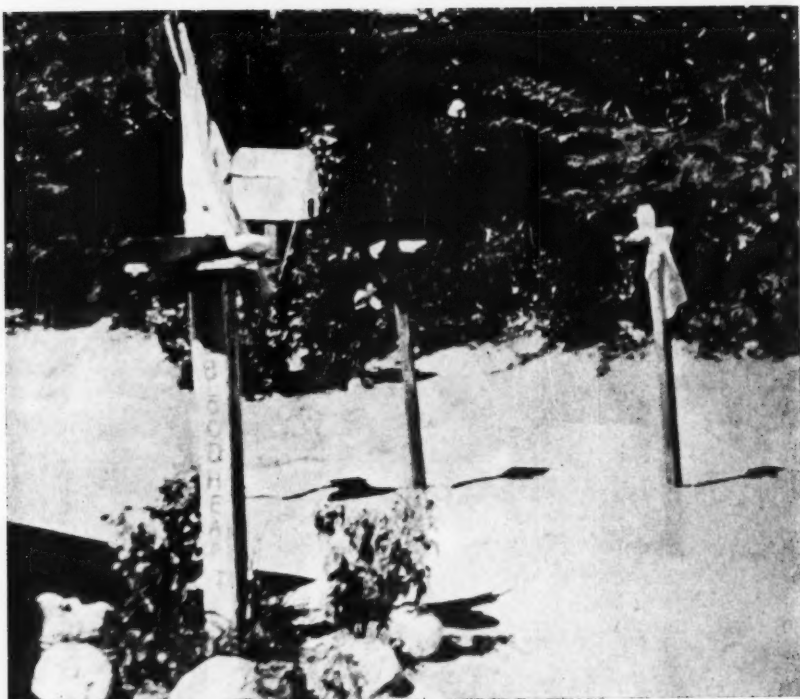


PLATE 6.

Four of the Seven 'Stations' in the Yard of a Revivalist Leader.



Healing Pool in Yard of Pocomania Leader.

Bible. An assistant may preside for a short time if the master of ceremonies tires, and a religious leader may be invited to deliver a message of condolence.

The most important part of a 'Nine Night' ceremony occurs in the room where the person died.^a A triple-tiered altar may be improvised by placing boxes on a table. An equal number of the nine, twelve, or twenty-four black and white candles is placed on each level, but no tier has only black or only white candles. One glass of water is placed on each tier and a vase of flowers is put in the center of the top tier. If a photograph of the dead person is available, it is placed against the flower vase.

Shortly after 11:30 p.m. the candles are lighted by members of the family and close friends. The officiant (the Leader if it is a Revival Zion group; the Shepherd for a Pocomania gathering; someone who understands Catholicism if the family is Catholic) calls on one or more members of the family or friends to say a few words about the deceased. The dead person's good qualities are extolled regardless of his actual character while living. Rivalry between speakers and their respective supporters may lead to a fight if a speaker is booed.^b

After pronouncing the dead man's name three times, the ritual leader says: 'Nine nights ago he was here, but he met with an accident' (or whatever was the cause of death). Now we are memorializing the dead'. He then recounts the dead person's life history. At midnight the spirit is supposed to appear by possessing the Leader, or a Mother, or an Armor Bearer, Elder, or other officer. Others may get 'in the spirit' too, but they must 'give room' as the spirit of the dead man furnishes a message to the person who first became possessed. The spirit of the deceased may explain what should be done with his property; or, if the death was not a natural one it may name the person who was the cause of death; or, if any one in the family has suffered, or is about to suffer, some trouble or an accident, the cause of the misfortune is explained. If the dead man's spirit does not arrive at the proper time, burning coals are placed on some ashes in a pan and frankincense and myrrh are thrown on the coals to force an appearance.

Everyone marches out of the house singing 'Jesus, Lover of My Soul,' 'He's Gone to a Silent Home,' or a similar hymn. Refreshments are served in the yard to all those in attendance, and wine, milk, black coffee, green tea, or something that the person liked most in his lifetime is put on one side of the table or on the altar. A saucer of unsalted rice (no spirit touches anything that is salted) is placed near the drink, and, at some 'Nine Nights,' the rice, together with rum 'is thrown all over the place to feed the dead.' More singing, as well as game-playing (dominoes, card and ring games) and the telling of jokes and stories prolong the occasion until early morning.

The candles are allowed to burn down, and, after daybreak, the water in the glasses is thrown into the street to indicate that the spirit is free. If it were thrown into the yard, the spirit would remain there. The mattress is turned over, or the bed is put outside, the house is swept, and the belongings of the dead man are given to relatives on the same (tenth) morning. These acts signalize the departure of the dead person from his former home.

Forty Days Ritual

In West Kingston, the "forty-days" ritual is given only for a dead leader. The service may or may not be preceded by a trip to the leader's grave. Many elements of the ritual are the same as those of a nine-night, i.e., hymn singing, praying, Bible reading, the offering of "spirit" food (unsalted rice, wine, milk, black coffee, green tea), and the burning

^aThis summary of the nine-night is based on the writer's paper (82). See this paper for accounts of nine-nights in Denham Town (1953) and at "Sugartown" (West Indian Social Survey, 1948).

^bIn Trinidad, mock quarrels develop between the co-chairmen at a "forty-days" ritual, and the Herskovites point out that this has its parallels in African custom "where the goal is to amuse the dead at his last visits among the living." Another point of interest is that the "heart-felts," "in their competitive aspects, also resemble the manner in which sons and sons-in-law of the dead in Africa compete with eulogies of the departed" (46, p. 301 and pp. 147 ff.).

of frankincense and myrrh. It may be attended by the whole congregation or only by the elected officers and members of the leader's family. According to a Revival Zion leader, one of the main purposes of the forty-day table is to determine who the new leader should be.^a The flowers which the dead leader used in his rituals, together with some object to attract his spirit to the service, are placed on the "table." An elder tries to learn and recite one or two of the dead man's "benedictions," and the leader's favourite hymns are sung. Everyone marches around the table during the singing, and in five or ten minutes some one gets in the spirit. Others get in the spirit and by singing together, trumping, and speaking the unknown tongues they are able to understand one another. One of the officers, or the person who was nearest to the leader in spiritual work, will begin, under the influence of the spirit who guided the leader during his lifetime, to act as the leader acted when conducting a service. He tells the others that he is in contact with the spirit of the leader and that the leader's work has been given to him. Everyone is supposed to be happy about the revelation from the leader, but some may drop out of the group within a few weeks. Even these persons, however, return for each memorial service subsequently given for the dead leader. They participate in these memorials in the hope that there may be some new revelation from the leader's spirit.^b

Memorial Services

A memorial service for a dead person may be held at the end of two, three, six or nine months and/or one, two, three, five, and seven years after death. The alleged reasons for these "tables" are that relatives and friends are sorry about the death of the individual and/or because the living hope to receive a revelation from the spirit of the dead man. Fear of the return of the dead person would also seem to be a part of the motivation. White and black tablecloths, and white and black candles, are placed on the table. Some object used by the person during his life-

^aBefore a leader dies, he may give his robes and ritual equipment to a person whom he names as his successor. In this case, the members accept his decision, at least for the time being. If the leader dies suddenly, some one who understands the leader's work takes his place temporarily. If two or three individuals wish to take the leader's place, the group may split into several parts. Some may be displeased if the successor speaks harshly to them. In all cases, it is well to seek a revelation from the spirit of the dead leader.

^bOf interest is the independent assertion on the part of two leaders that this ceremony is held forty days after a leader's death because of the Ascension of Christ after forty days. The Herskovitses point out that the "forty-days" ritual in Trinidad is the reinterpretation of partial and definitive burials in West Africa. They say: "Among some peoples, such as the Ashanti, it takes the form of commemorative rites about forty days after death, elsewhere it involves an actual exhumation of a corpse and its reburial; everywhere its object is to permit the surviving family to amass whatever is deemed necessary to pay the dead proper respect in terms of lavishness of outlay.... the function of the 'forty-days' as the occasion on which the spirit of the dead is finally sent forth, remains to fulfil the function of the African definitive burial, despite hymn-singing and other non-African aspects" (46, p. 302). In West Kingston, usually the spirit of the dead is discharged on the ninth night, with the forty-day ceremony reserved for leaders. The present writer has reported on the "degradation" ceremony (removal of the spirit from the head of a dead man) and the "transmission" ceremony (transfer of the dead man's spirit to his successor) in the *vodun* cult of northern Haiti. The latter ceremony occurs on the ninth night after death, and, in several respects, parallels the West Kingston "forty-day" ritual. (79, p. 154).

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time: a dress, hat, staff, etc., and, perhaps, his photograph, is displayed. If the dead person used a certain kind of perfume, a bottle of that perfume is placed on the table; otherwise, a bottle of attar of rose, attar of jasmine, or attar of dilabar (dilhahar?) is used. The service, usually held between eleven o'clock and midnight, consists of songs, prayers, and Bible reading, especially the 90th Psalm. Unsalted rice in saucers is placed on the table; later this spirit food, together with rum, is thrown as an offering to the spirit of the dead person.^a

In addition to the various rituals (wake, funeral, nine-night, forty-day, and memorials) for specific dead persons, many revivalist churches hold an annual "sacrifice" service for the dead. The time for this "table" varies from group to group, but the months mentioned were August, September, December, and January. A sheep or a goat is killed (chickens and pigeons are also sacrificial animals), cooked, and served with unsalted rice, fruit, bread, rum, wine, and aerated waters. Some hold a ritual in connection with the killing of the animal, some do not. During the ceremony there is singing, praying, Bible reading (for example, Leviticus 6 and 7), and, in some cases, a pledge is taken concerning spiritual work during the coming year. In one group the offerings made consist of butter, bread, fruit, and milk; others offer meat, rice, bread and fruit. In some cult centres, offerings are presented specifically to the dead, in others they are given to "the spirits" or "to follow beings and Omnipotence," the ark of the covenant, etc.^b At his annual sacrifice service, one leader sprinkles goat's blood on the ground and on his healing stones.

OTHER RELIGIOUS RITUALS

Before a new revivalist church is erected, the site may be consecrated by a special service. The officers and members march to the new location, stopping about a half mile away for the reading of the 27th Psalm by the leader. This act is intended to drive away all evil spirits, as well as "the evil thinking of natural man himself," before the faithful reach the new site. Upon arrival, the ground is consecrated with holy water, special prayers, and by the sprinkling of salt. The members then set a "consecrating" table consisting of unleavened bread, wine, coffee, green tea, and "dress" or "prize" bread (crowns, doves, flower baskets, etc.). Frankincense and myrrh are burned, and the ground is sprinkled with oil of cedar, musk,

^aConcerning these death anniversaries in Porto Alegre, Brazil, Herskovits writes: "In addition to the sacrifices offered when a cult-initiate dies, the *egun* [the dead] are 'fed' annually. The important offerings for the soul of any cult-member are made on the first, third, fifth, and seventh anniversaries of his death. Of these, the seventh year offering has the greatest significance, since the spirit of the dead is definitively 'sent away.' After this time, the surviving members of the family have no further obligations toward the spirit of the dead relative which participates casually in offerings given in connection with the observances decreed by the cult of the deed." (44, p. 508).

^bOf interest here is this remark of the Herskovitses: "The African ceremonies for the dead at various anniversaries of death, also found in Brazil and Haiti, are present only sparsely in Toco, however, except for such rites as the 'feeding' of the 'yard spirit' and other family dead on All Souls Day" (46, p. 302). Bascom writes that the *santos* (Afro-Cuban deities of the *santeria* cult) must be fed annually (4, p. 65). For an interesting account of ceremonies in Haiti for feeding the gods see Odette M. Rigaud (73).

and uncooked rice. Members of the cult group march around the spot where the church is to be built while a quart of coarse salt is buried in the ground and the earth on top is sprinkled with sweetened water. It is believed that burying the salt will make this a "prosperous" location. The members now make speeches concerning their hopes for the new church, with the leader speaking last. A hymn such as "O God Our Help in Ages Past, Our Hope for Years to Come" is sung to conclude the rite. It may take several months to build the church, to "get things to cover it up."

The dedication of a new revivalist church is an exciting occasion, but most of the service differs very little from the regular Sunday evening "divine worship." There is the usual table decorated with flowers, leaves, bread, cakes, fruits, aerated waters, candles, glasses of water, and other items. There is singing, praying, Bible reading, labouring in the spirit, possession, the sprinkling of consecrated water at the four corners of the church, and preaching, including speeches of guest leaders and church officers. At one church dedication service which the writer attended in November, 1953 in a mountain village about ten miles from Kingston, a very tall bamboo pole was set in the ground in front of the church. This pole bore the banner of the church, and, as it was set in place, a guest leader said: "Some put down poles with dead men's bones, but this pole is put down with clean hands and pure hearts." A West Kingston leader reported burying a spotless white kid in the ground before the pole was erected at the dedication service in his yard in 1952.

The installation of a new officer, especially a Leader, Mother, or Armour Bearer, may call for an "ordination" or "dedication" table. The new official is supposed to fast and pray half of each day for a week or two weeks before the service, and he is required to offer a prayer and speak in church during every service in the church for perhaps a month following the ceremony. The cost of the "crowning" ceremony for the new officer is shared by all members of the group.

MAGICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN WEST KINGSTON

In discussing ritual paraphernalia, we said that some revivalist leaders engage in little or no healing, divining, or conjuring. However, most of these persons, both Revival Zion Leaders and Pocomania Shepherds, occasionally or continually practice in one or more of these related fields. Obeah men, private operators who have clienteles rather than churches, are involved in all phases of magic.^a Revivalist Leaders, Shepherds, Captains, and Mothers carry on their extra-religious activities in the church building, their own "apartments" (one-room house in a West Kingston yard), or in the client's home. A religionist who has been arrested one or more times on

^aThe distinction made in former years between the "obeah man" as the practitioner of harmful magic, and especially as the one who "put on" duppies, and the "myal" man as the beneficent conjurer who "took off" duppies is seldom made today. The term "myal" was almost meaningless in West Kingston in 1953.

an obeah charge cautiously restricts consultations to his church. Obeah men receive their clients in their homes or yards, or they go to the individual's home.

Healing

Revivalist officials heal publicly in regular or special church services and in private; obeah men practice privately or, with the exception of a few large ceremonies held during the year, in the presence of a very small group. Some Revival Zion leaders heal at nearly every church service, that is, two or three times weekly, and one of these men may heal fifty, or even one hundred persons, during a meeting. Many of those in the line at a given time are, of course, repeaters; some receive the laying-on-of-hands treatment one or more times each week.

Healing in the church is free, but usually a voluntary offering of a half-penny, penny, or threepence, or whatever the person has is given. Treatment outside the meeting is not free and may range as high as £5 for a blood bath, plus additional fees for subsequent ministrations.

The theory of sickness among lower-class Jamaicans is simple, the two causes being evil or displeased spirits and germs. Probably the belief in spirit causation of illness is decreasing, but it is still widely held in West Kingston. Without exception, a mental (emotional) disorder is attributed by these practitioners to evil spirits. One man explains that fever and colds (which "may lead up to cough and to tuberculosis") are due to "natural attacks" and he says that syphilis comes from germs encountered by "careless" persons in "unrighteous" living.

Among the types of illness treated by West Kingston healers are: sore hand, bad foot (sores, swelling), lameness, deafness, blindness, paralysis, "false belly," menstrual troubles, miscarriage, tuberculosis, fits, and "madness." Prescriptions to cause abortion and to cure sterility are also given. One practitioner distinguishes between ordinary and serious illnesses, placing tuberculosis, fits and madness in the second category. Another man's dichotomy is "physical illness" and "spiritual illness." Diagnoses are made by several methods, including: passing the hands over the patient's body, the practitioner's touching the patient with his head to "sound the patient," listening to complaints, "concentration" on the spirits, dream experiences, trances, and observing a client's behaviour (fits, "no rest day or night because of torment," etc.).

The principal techniques employed by lower-class healers include the laying on of hands, drinking consecrated water, prayer, Bible reading, fasting, "lecturing," moral support, bush teas, purity baths (consecrated water), bush baths (leaves), blood baths, oil anointment, perfumes, the burning of frankincense and myrrh. Occasionally, as indicated later, nutmegs or stones are used in healing, and there may be a drawing out of intrusive objects. After the diagnosis is made, specific formulas for the case at hand may be obtained in a trance after "concentration" on a spirit (facilitated by gazing intently at a glass of water, a crystal ball, a plain or carved or painted stone, a picture of one of the saints, or by rum drinking or ganja

smoking), a dream, one of the de Laurence books, or simply from the practitioner's own store of knowledge. A country operator visiting West Kingston said that he uses what the spirit tells him to use and therefore the treatments are not standardized.

Two examples of the simple types of healing performed in public which were observed in 1953 are cited here. After a typical Sunday night revivalist service, a woman assistant walked around the open space in the church carrying a vase of flowers and leaves. Another participant waved a red flag on which a green cross was stitched, another waved a green flag, and still another held a lighted white candle. The leader filled a gourd dipper with consecrated water from a large earthen jar, poured the water back into the jar, and then repeated this act several times. He held a wooden cross in his hand and all sang during this dipping and pouring. The Captain did not follow the same procedure with each person in the long healing line, but the following were among his acts: moving one hand in a circle before the individual's face, punching her in the abdomen with one finger; rubbing the palm of his hand over the person's head, neck, chest, back, abdomen, arms and legs; writing invisible messages with his finger on the client's forearm; making a cross in the air in front of and behind the person; lecturing the sick individual, saying that he or she should stay away from questionable companions from now on and lead a righteous life; praying briefly; leading a song; giving the person a flower or a green leaf to take home; whirling the follower around; and asking the client to drink a small jar of consecrated water. None of the persons "healed" that night was obviously sick, and those in line included two boys of perhaps six and nine.

The second healing session occurred in the late evening of a "preparation for baptism" table. As each person stepped forward to be healed, this leader extended his vibrating hands over the patient's head, neck, chest, arms, and waist. During this "examination" he sang and murmured "Beloved one" or "Deliverance" or "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The person, passed on to the Mother standing at the altar, received a jar of consecrated water to drink. All who wished to be "healed" could not be dealt with that night, and nearly half of those in the line were asked to return the next night.

Reference was made above to the lack of standardization of formulas for treating disease. Prescriptions for the same ailment vary from healer to healer and, to some extent, from patient to patient with the same practitioner. One healer remarked that he tries out different combinations because he has found that some "compounds" are effective for certain types of sickness. For example, he prepares "tonics" by using different mixtures of roots from the drug store (Adam and Eve, Low John, High John, Devil's shoe-string, etc.), barks such as sarsaparilla, weeds (milkweed, etc.), olive oil, and physic-salt. Sometimes he buys a tonic called "Leonard's Bloody Mixture" and adds to it. Frequently "the spirit" advises the healer which "leaves" should be obtained, whether the solution should be used for a bath

or as a tea, and if the latter, how much should be drunk and at which intervals.^a Examples of formulas for "bush teas" which have been employed by West Kingston operators follow.

For high blood pressure: Breadfruit leaves and white dashalong leaves boiled together and drunk as a tea.

For a cold: Yellow dashalong leaves, love bush, devil's horsewhip, and John Charles leaves boiled together to make a syrup.

For stomach "gas": a tea made from the leaves of the jointer plant.

For diabetes: A tea made from periwinkle leaves.

For "madness": A tea made from fig leaves.

For a bad cold (tuberculosis in the early stages): Nine pence worth of turnips; nine pence worth of carrots; six pence worth of garlic; nine pence worth of onions. Cut these vegetables into very small pieces; place pieces in an earthen jar, and pour one and one-half pounds of granulated sugar on them. These ingredients must stand from six in the evening until noon the next day, and then liquid is drained off. Fourteen drops of eucalyptus oil are added to each wine glass of this substance, and an amount specified by the practitioner is taken three times a day.

For "false belly" (woman believes she is pregnant, but she has a growth in the womb): A tea made by boiling together earth, old-time brown paper, oil of St. Peter's brain, oil of St. Francis, oil of gladness (olive oil), oil of Daughter of Jerusalem, oil of Jupiter, and oil of clearance. This prescription is designed to drive out the evil spirit and "bring the belly down."^b

For an unspecified illness: Jack-in-the-bush leaves, water grass, and pear leaves boiled together.

For an abortion: Pull-my-coat weed, Penny-Royal weed, and one yard of white calico boiled together. Mix with salt-physic and drink.

Another perscription for abortion: Boil some raw tobacco, rusty nails, and white calico together. Add salts and drink.

The baths which healers prescribe fall into three categories: the "purity" bath, the "bush" bath, and the blood bath. The "purity" bath is performed with consecrated water and varies from simply putting some of this water on both hands and both feet of the client to pouring a pan of water over the person's head and letting it run down her body or putting the person in a pool of "pure" water and bathing her entire body. The latter treatment may or may not be followed by "balming," (rubbing the patient with olive oil). A bush bath may consist of a bath given with consecrated water into which mint leaves (the leaf of life) have been dropped or it may involve a more complicated procedure. An example of the latter follows. Branches with their leaves are obtained from several "bushes" such as Jack-in-the-bush, wild rosemary, and tamarind, and put in a kerosene tin.

^aOn the question of the source of knowledge of remedies in the Haitian *vodun* cult, Métraux writes: "Though herb doctors admit to having acquired their knowledge from some relative or other, they usually claim that they receive in dreams a revelation of the proper treatment in each case. Those who rely on their experience insist that their cures can succeed only if accompanied by prayers and invocations. A religious and magical strain is foremost even in treatments based on massages, infusions and 'baths,' that is, ablutions with water in which leaves and roots have been left to macerate" (61, p. 67).

^bIn Toco (Trinidad) an apparent pregnancy which proves to be a tumour is called "jumby belly" (46, p. 111).

The tin is filled with water and sticks in the form of a cross are placed over the top of the tin. When the mixture has boiled down to half the original quantity, the leaves are taken out and the water is poured into a pitcher. During the giving of the bath, a white candle is burned and one of the following Psalms is read: 53rd, 6th, or 23rd. This rite may be in charge of an Armour Bearer or Warrior rather than the Leader or Captain, but in any case, the patient stands naked on a board and the bush water is poured over the head. The client is not dried with a towel but is rubbed with olive oil. The patient may be beaten with a white pigeon, a live young rooster of any colour, or a black pullet until the animal dies. This beating, if it occurs, comes before or after the oil rubbing. Sometimes the client is given a little bottle of oil (oil of fire, oil of "carry away," or neatsfoot oil) and told to rub this oil on her face and chest before going to bed at night as a guard against an evil spirit.

The blood bath is prescribed for serious illnesses and may be used when a follower is involved in a court case. In one type of blood bath, the head of a pure white pigeon is cut off and its blood is squeezed into a pitcher of consecrated water. The pigeon's head is rubbed over the client's head and, while the patient stands in a receptacle, the blood water is poured over him from the neck down. Care is taken not to get any of the blood water on the client's head. Usually the patient drops threepence into the blood water, not in payment for the bath but as an offering. The client takes what is left of the blood water to the nearest crossroads at midnight, and, standing at the centre of the crossroads, throws the water back over his shoulder. Any of these three types of bath treatment may be given singly or in a series lasting for days or even weeks.^a

Several additional healing procedures were encountered by the writer in West Kingston. While there seems to be no method of sucking out intrusive objects, a closely allied technique is utilized. An operator may wash a sore in a patient's arm, foot, head, or other part of his body and find pins, needles, or snailshells which he claims caused the illness. Likewise, the practitioner may rub some such mixture as earth and oil of command on a sore in order to draw out the evil spirit. In one such case, a piece of bone came out. The healer said that it was not a "natural bone," that it was like a piece of shell. When the sore began to heal, he bathed the woman "all

^aAnother blood bath formula is as follows. The client undresses, and a blessing is pronounced over the animal (pigeon, rabbit, young ram, guinea pig of any colour except black, or a brown or speckled fowl). The animal's neck is chopped off quickly with a sharp knife or cutlass. The practitioner takes the decapitated animal and spills its blood over the client's body. The client then steps into a pan containing a mixture of the following ingredients: consecrated water, blood of alabaster (or blood of Saturn, or dove's blood—items which may be purchased at a drug store), crystal musk, compellance powder, attraction powder, and oil of India. The operator then bathes the client, using downward motions, with this mixture. This is done immediately after the blood has been spilled on the client. The blood is not allowed to dry. During the bathing, the verses in the 119th Psalm under the section "Lamed" are read three times. The client is not dried with a towel, but the Captain or the Armour Bearer takes some oil of India or some oil of gladness (olive oil) and rubs it on the client's body.

over with frankincense and myrrh boiled with chicken blood" and then anointed her with oil of deliverance. One man places a "river stone" in a jar or pool of consecrated water when treating a serious illness, and another practitioner holds a healing stone in one hand while his other hand rests upon the client's head during a treatment. If a person has a stroke which results in facial paralysis, he may be told to put a nutmeg in his mouth on the side that is not affected. One treatment for leg ulcers is to bathe the sores in water obtained from boiling King-of-the-Forest leaves. Juice from green leaves of the same shrub is used to treat ringworm. One healer prescribes the drinking of olive oil for asthma.

When a man who had spent three years in the asylum was brought to him to be treated for his "madness," a healer broke a coconut over the patient's head and let the milk run over the man's head and face. He then put a white cloth around the man's head and tied it with a split tuna leaf. This cloth was worn for nine days, and during that time the patient did not leave the yard. Finally, the patient's head was bathed with consecrated water and he was given some of this water to drink.

If a woman menstruates too often or excessively, she may be advised to bathe herself around the loins with rosewater (26). If this is not effective she may try a "spiritual remedy" (nutmegs are thought to have "great spiritual value"). Two nutmegs are ground and mixed with a tablespoon of salt. A small sack is made of two thicknesses of cloth, and half of the mixture is put in the inner sack, half in the outer sack. The sack is put inside the menstrual cloth to draw out the cause of the trouble. To avoid a repetition of miscarriage, a woman who is again pregnant may be told to take a piece of virgin parchment, write the word "Jehovah" at the top of it and then copy the first three verses of the 1st Psalm. The parchment is wrapped in cellophane, or in several thicknesses of paper, and placed in a talisman cloth case. The case, tied to a cord, hangs from the neck to the waist.^a The same treatment may be prescribed for the cure of sterility but it is not started until three days after the end of a menstrual period. The "seal of deliverance" is removed at the onset of menstruation if it has not proved effective but is worn again after the menstrual period.

Among the miscellaneous formulas which have been used by a practitioner who now has no church group are the following: for a swelling—grate the root of a white lily plant, mix with castor oil, and apply as hot as the patient can tolerate; for a sore eye—boil Jack-in-the-bush leaves, add a little

^aThis formula is given in *The Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses* (26, p. 145). It is interesting to note that in the *candomblé* cult in Bahia, Brazil, the "wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to 'close the body' against disease or accident" (67, p. 254). In Jamaica, if a lower-class woman becomes pregnant after several children have died, or after she has had several miscarriages, she may be advised to (a) wear red undergarments to ward off evil influences, (b) move to another residence, or (c) use a "guard." The mother of a child born after several miscarriages and a live birth may be advised to dress the second child in red all the time until he begins to creep. After that a mixture of red and white clothing may be used. According to some informants, a mother may have any young child wear some red garment, or she may tie a red cloth on the child, to keep evil spirits away.

salt, and bathe eye; for a corn—milk of a Jerusalem candlestick cactus, being careful to keep it away from eyes.

In concluding this discussion of healing procedures, it is important to stress the results, and the reasons for the results, of the kinds of healing found in an area such as that of West Kingston. Most of the formulas used by these practitioners have no empirically based value in treating disease. Everywhere most people recover from illnesses with or without professional treatment, and Jamaica is no exception to this rule.^a Confidence and trust in the suggestions (prescriptions) of a strong and persuasive practitioner are important factors in cases of hysteria and other kinds of emotional disturbance. Most of these healers have little education, and some are illiterate, but almost without exception they are, in one way or another, impressive figures. Where belief in the ability of evil spirits to cause all kinds of trouble is strong, ordinary men are likely to think that expert assistance is needed to offset unseen dangers. Those who are ill know persons who have been helped by healers, and they have heard rumours about and testimonies by individuals whom they do not know concerning miraculous cures. They are given assurance by the practitioner, and in many cases they have what is just as important, namely, the almost constant good wishes of relatives, friends, and co-believers. This aspect of healing was brought out very well in the case of a young married women who did not feel that "her head was normal." A Revival Zion leader went to her home and for three days, with the members of her family, fasted, sang, prayed, read the Bible, and "gave her a lot of encouragement." Everyone spoke to the patient and "wished her to get better in her mind." Such moral and emotional support seems to have a marked effect on many of the illnesses of lower class individuals whose lives are notable for marital, economic, and other troubles. The fact that some become worse,^b or die, after receiving treatments from these practitioners is not sufficient to undermine the faith which many have in the theory of sickness. All healers are not condemned because one healer was unsuccessful in a given case; either he was inept or the evil spirit was so strong that nothing could have been done to counteract it.

Conjuring.

In Jamaica, conjuring is known as the practice of "obeah." As Beckwith pointed out, this is the belief that spirits "may be employed to

^aSome of the persons living in West Kingston never consult a revivalist leader or an obeah man about illnesses; others go to one of these healers only for the treatment of diseases thought to be caused by evil spirits. Many go only to the healers; others may be treated in succession or simultaneously by physicians, revivalist healers, and obeah men. Métraux reports that in Haiti "there is a certain amount of unwitting collaboration between vodou priests, herb-doctors and city doctors, and a single patient may be treated simultaneously by the three of them" (61, p. 67).

^bIn a letter of July 12, 1954, Dr. Gerrit Bras, of the Pathology Department of the University College of the West Indies, writes: "I was able to do feeding experiments with Jamaican 'bush-teas' and produced interesting lesions in rats." Other experiments and analyses of bush teas have been made recently by Medical School staff members. Of some interest in this connection might be (1, 7, 74).

work harm to the living or may be called off from such mischief" (8, p. 104). Actually, Jamaican witchcraft involves sympathetic and contagious magic as well as "putting on" and "taking off" duppies and utilizing evil spirits. Previously we have mentioned that the practice of magic in West Kingston is not confined to individual obeah men and women but is undertaken at times by a number of the Pocomania and revivalist leaders. Conjuring is, of course, closely related to both divination and healing.

Witchcraft is utilized most frequently in Jamaica's lower class to (a) dispel evil spirits, and (b) injure enemies, but magic is used in a wide variety of situations, e.g., to ensure success in court cases, to discover the identity of a thief, to restore manhood, and to acquire one's full share of the estate of a dead relative.

One type of sympathetic magic consists of making a clay image, attaching to it the name of the intended victim written on a piece of parchment paper, and igniting the paper and some drug store "medicine" in a small clay pot called a "yabba." A variation of this technique is to fasten the parchment paper with the victim's name written on it to the clay image with a black pin, bury the image in the ground, build a fire on top of the burial spot and recite an incantation over it. Still another procedure consists of moulding beeswax in the form of a human being, putting into it a few straws for veins and sticks for bones. The victim's name and the operator's intention, written on a piece of parchment paper is fastened to the image. The figure is then stabbed, or its arms, legs, or neck are broken, or something is put into the stomach to cause trouble for the enemy, or it is rubbed with a mixture of "rodium ether", aconite, and sulphuric acid. Some believe that the ritual killing of a rabbit or a pigeon will cause a client's enemy to die.

A more complicated kind of sympathetic magic is performed at a cross-roads away from the town. A spot about three feet square is marked off and a piece of black cloth is pegged down. Food which the intended victim likes is placed on the cloth and a piece of parchment with his name written on it is laid in the centre of the square. The name of a dead person, written on another piece of parchment, is put on top of the first piece of paper. "Destructive" words are repeated over the spot and then a piece of white cloth is pinned over the black cloth. During the nine-day period that these things are left to rot the victim is supposed to die. If this person remains unharmed the conclusion is that the operator is inept or that the intended victim has very strong protection which will boomerang if the client persists in trying to injure him. As in such procedures elsewhere, the victim may hear that steps are being taken to injure him and fall ill, or the magic may be supplemented by direct means to ensure that he is harmed.

A well-known threat among lower-class Jamaicans is: "Don't let me burn *wangla* for you." Two examples of contagious magic in connection with "burning *wangla*" to discover or punish a thief follow. In the first, one takes the earth from a garden or field where the thief has left a foot-

print and puts it in a plantain, coco, or banana leaf. The leaf, with the earth in it, is placed in a dry spot for three days. A fire is then kindled and a piece of parchment paper with the suspected thief's name on it is placed on the fire. The earth is added to the fire and a mixture of lard, bread, salt, brimstone (sulphur), and wangla seeds is poured into the flames. The second technique calls for the addition of salt, pepper, broken bottles, and dry wood to the faeces of a thief who has defecated in a field or garden. A fire is lighted and these words repeated: "I don't know who it is who steals from me, but I am going to find out." Two or three days later the thief is constipated and confesses to the owner of the land because the only remedy for his trouble is the drinking of a mixture of water and ashes from the fire.^a

Contagious magic is found also in the belief that a girl's first menstrual cloth may be used harmfully or helpfully. Pain may be brought to the girl herself if the cloth is burned after putting salt and pepper on it. For helpful results, the operator dips the cloth in water, wrings the cloth, and adds other ingredients to make a "perfume."^b

A simple procedure for enlisting evil spirits with which to bewitch others consists of saying evil prayers while burning "destruction" (red, blue, and black) candles. If one is being injured and the dispute cannot be settled peaceably, one "draws the sword," i.e., one repeats the words: "Baahando beltzloir dealtzhat." These words, said to have been revealed to Joshua by God, are probably traceable to books of magic dating back to the Middle Ages. A similar rite, privately performed, makes use of the words: "Tetra-gra-maton pentra-gra-maton. Tetra-gra-maton. Sabaoth" in addition to the burning of frankincense, myrrh, and brimstone. Another method utilizes a mixture of mustard and sparkling wine. Once each day for three days the 109th Psalm is read over a jar or bottle of this mixture and on the third night the operator repeats these words: "E-l-e-l Shad-a-i," the name of the spirit that will "carry destruction."^c This mixture is sprinkled on the ground in front of the gate or door of the person to be injured. The operator himself will be destroyed if any of the mixture touches his body.

Snakes and frogs are feared by lower-class Jamaicans because, according to folk tradition, they may be spirits in disguise. When a person finds a

^aA less complicated type of burning wangla which does not involve contagious magic consists of burning oils obtained at a drug store. This act is supposed to cause sores to break out on the guilty person, enabling the victim to accuse him.

^bSomewhat different magical beliefs concerning the first menstrual cloth are reported for Toco, Trinidad (46, p. 127).

^cConcerning these words and those of the previously cited formula it may be of interest to quote *The Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses* (26, p. 127): "In the first period of nature God was addressed by the name of Sadai Trigrammaton. In the second period of the law he bore the unutterable name of Tetragrammaton, which is spoken Adonai. In the period of grace he was called upon as Pentagrammaton effable Jesu, which is also written Jusu, with four letters, and JHS with three letters." Also, Schaddei ("which means, mighty God") is mentioned on p. 146; Eel Schaddei appears on p. 162. Some of the terms mentioned (e.g. El-el Shaddai, Adonai) are transliterated Hebrew terms, usually circumlocutory, for "Jehovah".

snake in his room or sees one in a field, he may believe that someone put it there to kill him. Finding one or two living frogs painted black, white, red, or blue in one's room is not regarded as a joke but as a sinister omen.^a

One way to strike back at an enemy is to "concentrate" on the water spirit (also known as the "river maid" or Tharsis). In this rite one fills his mouth with river water and walks downstream in the river, thinking constantly of his enemy. He spits the water in his mouth into the river and gets out of the river on the same side he entered the stream. After coming out, he makes a wish, the wish being that every morsel of food his enemy eats and every drop of water he drinks "should be evil germs to him."

A man who has lost his manhood may also appeal to the water spirit. He gets a live piper fish, spits into its mouth, takes it to the river, speaks his desires, throws the fish into the water, walks upstream until the water comes up to his waist, and then walks out of the river.

Techniques for summoning the spirits of dead persons vary, but Pocomanians and revivalists have little or no doubt that such spirits can be invoked. One Captain remarked that "the spirit of the departed has no power; you have to make power for it—there is a way to manoeuvre the body, to bring it to you." A Revival Zion leader said: "The dead are put away, but these spirits are in slavery and ready for use."

Three decades ago Beckwith reported that one way an obeah man could put a duddy on someone was to place offerings of rice, rum, and chicken under a cottonwood tree, cut crosses or circles on the tree, beat one stone upon another and sing in unknown tongues. This technique, known in West Kingston today, is used only by a small group of people, usually a man, his wife, and one or two others.

One Pocomanian captain classifies ghosts into three groups: Coolie ghosts, China ghosts, and Negro ghosts. To get in contact with these ghosts, according to his view, it is necessary to rub a mixture of four oils (concentration, Lucifer, runaway, and spirit) on one's body. To awaken these ghosts from the grave a calabash stick, a white towel, rum, and a threepence are used. Duppies have to be fed the foods they like, i.e., unsalted rice, coffee, sugar and water, rum, and rote (a broad flat fried dumpling made of wheat flour), and the more they are fed the more work they will do. Some duppies like ganja smoke. Drinking water in a glass or jar is placed in the private enclosure provided for duppies. A duddy must be talked with, that is, he must be told the name of the victim and informed concerning the nature of the injury. This captain believes that a China ghost does any kind of (harmful) work and the fastest work.

Leaders who are "fanatics" conjure with "monuments," i.e., with bones of the dead. Summoning a dead person's spirit by such rites is expensive

^aBeckwith mentions snakes as vehicles for duddy setting and says that toads, frogs, and lizards are common tools of obeah men (8, p. 122). One of the conjuring "signs" in the magical kabala of *The Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses* (26, pp. 87, 92) deals with "frogs, mice, lice and similar vermin" and there are talismans with serpent themes on p. 91 ("Moses Changes the Staff Into a Serpent") and p. 98 ("Symbol of the Crowned Serpent").

for the client (£5 to £25) and dangerous to the operator because the bones "carry the germs that caused the person's death and he may be killed by the same disease." In one rite the skull and crossbones are placed on the ground, and sugar, water and rum are sprinkled on the ground around the skull. Glasses containing these liquids are set in front of the bones, and a white saucer upon which has been placed a mixture of ground parched corn and granulated sugar is put about nine inches from the crossbones. The operator speaks to the skull, calling it by name, and states his requests. These "duties" require about fifteen minutes and must be performed three times a day (six a.m., noon, and six p.m.). The operator must remain continent during the period these rites are carried on.

Occasionally a fowl may be sacrificed privately at the grave some time after the funeral. Blood and rum are sprinkled on the grave in an attempt to persuade the dead person to assist in the securing of desires.

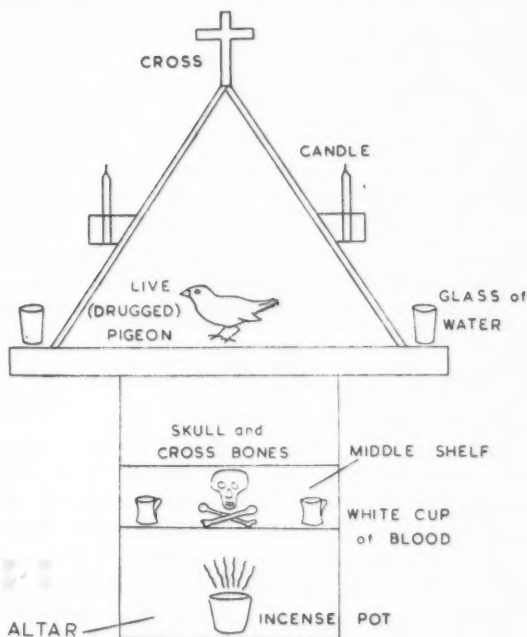
A skilful operator can summon and make use of the spirit of a dead person without going to the cemetery, but this spirit does not take possession of a revivalist. When brought to a ceremony, this spirit occupies a special space, the conjuring spot (this is not the writer's term). The conjuring spot can be made any place in the church by the drawing of a circle with chalk or perfume. Alternatively, a glass filled with water can be used to summon a good spirit. This glass is placed in the centre of the table and a second glass containing Allah baka ("barsley" water), used as an "enchantment" to the spirit, is placed to the east of the first glass. If a number of the devotees are possessed by other spirits at such a time, it is believed that the spirit in the glass is restless and the leader uses his conjuring rod to control it. If the spirit does not become quiet, the practitioner uses his shepherd's crook. If necessary the leader sprinkles water on the ground in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, or those who are possessed put their hands in the glass of water. When the glass with the barsley is removed from the table the words "Deos principium et mi finis" (translated as "Praise beginning and my end") are repeated three times and the water and the barsley are thrown eastward. (The east and north mean strength and power, the west and south mean destruction and death; an "uplifting" comes from throwing things to the east.)

An obeah man has a clientele rather than a church, but a few times each year he may hold a feast which as many as two hundred, or even more, people attend. Among the foods served at these "destruction tables" are: bread, unsalted rice, curry goat, rum, wine, aerated waters, callalou, coffee, tea, and cocoa. Accounts of two of these rituals follow. In the first, the Shepherd wears a black robe trimmed in red, and the Shepherd boys (assistants) wear shirts of the same type. The Shepherd may call for a Lucifer possession, but more often he asks for a Rutabel or Beelzebub possession. Certain words and sounds (weeping, wailing, and whooping sounds) are used to get someone in the spirit of Rutabel or Beelzebub. Some of those present may get in the spirit of one of the Devil's assistants

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An elaborate arrangement for conjuring with the bones of a dead person is shown in the diagram above.

and then, through this assistant, try to get in the spirit of Lucifer himself. The Shepherd acts as if he is "under a great burden." He may call for a pint of rum and a live pigeon, and, upon receiving them, "rip the pigeon in two, suck the blood, and drink the rum." He may break the bottle and walk on the pieces of glass without getting cut, or he may trample out a fire. Sometimes the food at such a feast is not eaten, but is placed in a bag or basket and taken out to sea in a small fishing boat and dumped. Four persons go out and repeat "benedictions," that is, what they want to happen to whom, as they throw the bag or basket overboard.

According to the second account:

The operator at a 'destruction table' calls the air spirits and the earth spirits and invites them to come to the ceremony. Among the air spirits are Ariel, Lucifer, Tonnerre, and Vapor (God of the Streams and Ruler of the Sea). All of these spirits work mischief; they are Princes of Evil—fallen angels. Raphael, Gabriel, Casuel, and other spirits are used only for religious ceremonies. The operator must reason with the spirits and control them. He tells them what he needs to have done. The other people hear what the operator says but they can't hear what the spirits reply. Every operator has his own way of giving commands to such spirits. Some of the people who get 'in the spirit' act much like those who are 'in the spirit' at a religious meeting. A person not in the movement could not tell the difference between the two types of possession. In the 'fallen angels' possession [rite] there is more singing and less praying. Also, there is a beating of the feet on the ground all the while, and

the hands are worked up and down instead of back and forth as in the religious service. (Another Leader reported that the 'spiritual' dancing proceeds clockwise instead of counter-clockwise at a 'destruction' table, and that one reverses the usual pattern by stamping first and hard with the left foot and then stamping more lightly with the right foot as the body straightens up.) The beating of the feet is detrimental to the person named [the name of the person is called as the foot hits the ground]. The operator leads the singing and concentrates on burial hymns from Dr. Watts and the Sankey hymn book. Prayers are addressed to the fallen angels by the operator and the participants. The prayers are in accord with evil influences, that is, with avenging enemies. Psalms which are personally destructive (71st, 35th, and 109th) are read. The table is 'broken' at midnight or at three in the morning. The food is eaten at that time, but not until the operator has thrown some of it through the air as far as he can to the four corners of the earth. Also, he sprinkles some rum on the ground and blows rum from his mouth. After a destruction table, red, blue and black candles are burned continuously in the operator's house. Red candles have an evil influence when used by an operator in association with black and blue candles. They create war and discord. Black candles tell of the appearance of night and give out a death result if they are burned continuously. Blue candles are used in remembrance of the will of God; they bring discord between persons. When candles of these three colours are burned together and continuously they cause a neighbourly dispute. These results are in connection with demonism.^a

A related but even more powerful service than a "destruction table," according to some practitioners, is a special rite at a cross-roads out of the city. Burial hymns are sung, the three Psalms (71st, 35th, and 109th) which are read during a "destruction" ceremony are used, but only two or three prayers are recited in the course of a whole night. The enemy's name, written on a piece of paper, is put inside a drum, a regimental rhythm or a funeral march is played on the drum, and the victim's name is shouted out. After reaching home, rice and parched corn are eaten and rum is drunk. The service breaks up between midnight and two or three in the morning, but red, blue, and black candles are burned continuously in the operator's house for nine, fifteen, or twenty-one days, or until the injury occurs.

There is no dearth of techniques in West Kingston for offsetting the evil intentions of enemies and conjurers. The simplest prescriptions consist of one or a combination of the following: fasting, praying, singing hymns, drinking consecrated water, bathing in consecrated water, "bush" baths, bathing in blood, anointing with oils, reading the Psalms,^b flogging with a rod to drive out evil spirits.

^aThese accounts were given independently by two leaders, one of whom I would classify as a Revival Zionist, the other as a Pocomanian. While both say they have observed these rites, they insist that they do not perform them. One said that it is necessary for a religious leader to know about these matters. The other stated that a revivalist leader might do these things if he found himself in trouble, but that some Shepherds go through these rites just to test themselves even if they haven't been molested. If the rite doesn't work, they say the intended victim has powers they don't possess and so use poison [poison in a drink, a coeash bean in a cigarette, or dumb cane (Good luck plant)].

^bThe purposes to which the one hundred and fifty Psalms of David may be applied are set forth in *The Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses* (26, pp. 145-172). Several examples follow:

Psalm 19. "During a protracted and dangerous confinement take earth from a cross roads, write upon it the first five verses of this Psalm, and lay it upon the abdomen of the parturient; allow it to remain until the birth is accomplished, but no longer, and in the meantime pray this entire Psalm seven times in succession, with the proper holy name of God and the appropriate prayer. . . ."

(Continued at foot of next page).

The favoured type of charm to ward off evil influences in West Kingston is a talisman drawn on parchment. As one leader said: "Revivalists use talismans to disguise themselves spiritually, to deceive evil spirits." Among the symbols used in making talismans are the following: the seventy-two (praise) names for God, e.g., Adonay, Aha, Jah; certain magical words and letters, e.g., Keser, Raiah, Igogi, etc.;^a the five-pointed star and the crescent (together they are believed to mean "prosperity"); "zodiacal" signs and certain Roman numerals, i.e., III, VII, XII, and CXXI. The latter symbols have these meanings: III, the three spirits—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; VII, the seven churches, the seven golden candlesticks, the seven spirits,^b the seven days of the week; XII, the twelve apostles, the twelve months of the year, the twelve letters that spell the words: It Is Finished; and CXXI, the 121st Psalm.

The last talisman depicted (p. 396) bears some resemblance to the "seals" shown on pages 7 and 9 of *The Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses*.

^aThe setting of these letters means that a circle has been made to keep evil spirits away. "It is not a natural circle," a leader said, "but a spiritual circle which protects us from evil spells."

^bThe references here to the seven churches, the seven candlesticks, and the seven spirits come from Revelation 1:20—"The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches."

Psalm 20. "Mix in a vessel, rose-oil, water and salt, pray over it seven times in the most holy name Jeho, this Psalm and a suitable prayer, in a low voice and with reverence, then anoint with this oil your face and hands, and sprinkle it on your clothing, and you will remain free from all danger and suffering for that day. Are you summoned to appear before the judge in person, in a judicial trial, you should avail yourself of the above means shortly beforehand, and by so doing you will surely be justified and depart without restraint..." The West Kingston version of this ritual "for deliverance from trouble" is as follows: "Mix oil of rose, table salt, and seven quarts of consecrated water. Read Psalm 20 three times in the name of Jeho while the client stands naked in the mixture. Bathe him downwards. Mix some oil of rose with consecrated water and salt (a new mixture—not the bath water) and sprinkle it lightly over the person in trouble after his clothes have been put on."

Psalm 23. The instructions here call for purification by fasting and bathing before the Psalm is read.

Psalm 29. "This Psalm is highly recommended for casting out an evil spirit. The manner of proceeding is as follows: Take seven splinters of the osier and seven leaves of a date palm that never bore fruit, place them in a pot filled with water upon which the sun never shone, and repeat over it in the evening, this Psalm with the most holy name of Aha, ten times with great reverence; and then in full trust in the power of God, set the pot upon the earth in the open air, and let it remain there until the following evening. Afterward pour the whole of it at the door of the possessed, and the Ruach Roah, that is, the evil spirit, will surely depart..."

Psalm 33. "Have you been unfortunate in respect to the constant death of your children at birth, pronounce this Psalm with the holiest name Jehovah, over pure olive oil and anoint your wife therewith, and the children born to you thereafter will live..."

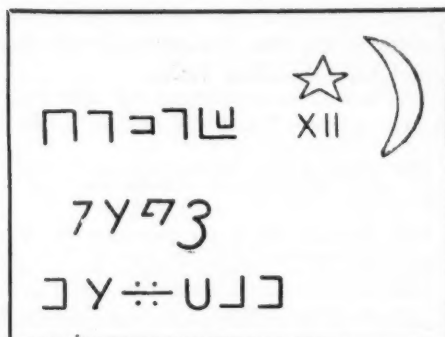
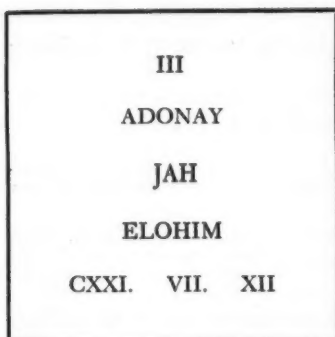
Psalms 53-55. "These three Psalms are ordained to be uttered by him who is persecuted without cause by open and secret enemies..." A West Kingston revivalist leader told the writer that the 55th Psalm is read in the name of Vah when "you want an enemy to suffer." This man remarked that "there are many things which have been hidden and are not in the St. James (*sic*) version."

Psalm 145. "He who fears ghosts and evil spirits, should pray this Psalm in connection with the 144th, with reverence, for the praying of these Psalms will drive away ghosts and apparitions instantly."

Psalm 147. "For the cure of dangerous and deadly wounds, bites, stings of a salamander, lizard, snake, scorpion or other poisonous reptile, the earnest prayer of this Psalm is said to possess the same power of healing as the former Psalm, already described [the 146th]."

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A	I	I	I	A
H	A	G	A	R

K	E	S	E	R
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S	A	O	A	S
E	S	A	S	E
R	E	S	E	K



Examples of four West Kingston talismans.

Other charms to keep evil spirits away include rings, gold or silver bracelets, a miniature coffin (used in a rite which includes the calling of the name of a dead person to whose spirit current difficulties are attributed), and the wearing of a black "belly band" next to the skin (this band is two or two and one-half inches wide and is saturated with several different oils). Beads do not seem to be used in Jamaica, or at least not used extensively, as they are in Cuba, as protective charms. Also, giving power to charms, and renewing this power, is less elaborate and less public than in Cuba.^a

Numerous formulas are known and utilized in West Kingston for taking off duppies. One Pocomania captain holds that it is sometimes necessary to send "a duppy back to harm the person who intended to harm you." According to this man, one may find in treating a client for a "big foot" or some other trouble that "there is evil in the place where he lives." The practitioner has to go there and "turn the duppy out before the person gets

^aIn the *santeria* cult of Cuba, *resguardo* or protective charms are prepared "with herbs and blood in direct contact with the stones from which they acquire some of the invisible fluid. By wearing strings of beads or other objects on the body, the protective power of the saints can be kept nearby at all times. Before and after the annual feeding of the saints, the stones are washed in herbs, and the *resguardo* of the cult members may be washed at the same time" (4, p. 66).

better." This may be accomplished by "invocation, that is, by talking with the spirit." After reading a Bible lesson and praying at noon or midnight, the operator orders the spirit to leave the house. When talking to the spirit, he keeps a black candle lighted, sprinkles the floor with musk powder and with cananga water from the drug store.

A Revival Zionist leader has a number of "benedictions" at his disposal in case "we find evil spirits surrounding us." He calls for Archangels Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, and for Miriam and he mentions the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Then he repeats the names of the Princes of Devils (Reyenes, Padman, Egyn, Amayon, Abadon, Mahazel, Azazel, Aziel, and Mahazaher) and says three times: "You are discharged in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. By his rose-coloured blood which He shed on the Cross, you are discharged." Other benedictions denounce God and the Bible and praise Lucifer to demonstrate that "there is no concern about anything on God's side and that they rely on the Devil." The following benediction denounces the Devil himself:

See and know that I am He, I am He and beside me there is no other God. I am He who can kill and make alive. I wound and I am He that can heal and no one can escape my hands or my power for I stretched out my hands toward Heaven and sea. I am He that liveth forever. Animon! Animon! Alimon! Rivtip Taftain. The Lord can and will watch and keep. Amen. Happy art thou people of God who is like unto Thee. A people who is like unto Thee. A people whose help is Jehovah. He is the breastplate of thy help and the strong sword of thy pride. Thy enemies will deny themselves before Thee but Thou wilt stand in the high places. Lord of earth let it be agreeable to Thy Holy Will to command Thy angels to protect and defend _____ in all Thy ways. Through Thy great, mighty and praiseworthy name. Amen. Selah.

The words of another benediction are "Jesus I will arise. Jesus do go down with us. Jesus put our hearts in Thy own bosom. Christ is ascended. Blist has invested Him, woes that molested Him, trials that tested Him, gloriously ended. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen."

Another benediction against the Devil himself is coupled with a blessing. These words are used to discharge the Devil: "Thou arch sorcerer, thou has attacked _____ [name of client]. Let that witchcraft recede from him into Thy marrow and into Thy bones. Let it be agreeable to Thy Holy Will. Command Thy angels to protect _____ in all his ways. Amen. Selah." This blessing is added: "Christ in the midst of peace went with his disciples abroad. St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. John, the four evangelists, protect _____ by Thy ever praise, majesty, and unity of God. Amen. Selah."

According to this leader, these benedictions "are based on Christ and have come down from the Egyptians." An operator may change these prayers, putting them into his own words, or he may use "self-made benedictions."

A special ritual for exorcising evil spirits is of interest here. During the

preliminary phase of this ceremony there is drumming, accompanied by tambourines and rattles, and "labouring in the spirit" to bring in the good spirits and to drive away evil spirits. Consecrated water is sprinkled on the ground, and this water is used to trace the Roman numerals XII, VII, III, and CXXI on the ground. Cornmeal or ashes are used to make a five-pointed star and a crescent, or these symbols may be marked on the ground with a knife. The word "Adonay" may be made on the ground with ashes, and JAH may be traced on the ground with a knife, or cornmeal, or ashes, or water.^a Green bushes (*lignum vitae*, or any flowering shrub, or ackee) are placed upon a fire to represent Moses and the burning bush (Nathaniel and Seraph, the gods of fire, "ruled the fire that Moses saw"). The burning evil, whatever it is, is burnt out. Then the evil is washed away with water in the name of Tharsis, the god of water. The people tramp around the fire while it is burning; afterward they trample the fire out.^b These acts symbolize the subduing of enemies. Finally, water is sprinkled on the spot where the fire had been, and the leader repeats a "benediction and protection" of this type: "My help cometh from the Lord which made Heaven and earth but Thou Oh God shall bring them down into the pit of destruction. Bloody and deceitful man shall not live out all their days but I will trust in Thee. Mark the perfect man and be only upright for the end of that man is peace. Trust in the Lord and do good. So shalt thou dwell in the land and verily thou shalt be fed. Thou hast thrust sore at me that I might fall but the Lord help me. Amen. Selah."

The formula for recovering the shadow stolen from a living person has not changed since Beckwith's report was made on this subject. An obeah man locates the cottonwood tree to which the shadow is nailed, parades around it singing and drumming and then pelts the tree with eggs, fowls, and other offerings in an effort to persuade the spirits to give up the shadow. A white basin filled with water is held out and when the released soul falls into it, a cover is clapped over it and some one runs home with the captured soul and restores it to its owner by binding about his head a cloth dipped in water (8, pp. 144-148).

Divination

According to Herskovits, divination "is a widely diffused trait of Old World culture . . . and as far as Africa is concerned it is one of the most widely spread phenomena of Negro civilization . . ." (39, p. 202).

^aConcerning one aspect of the Shouters' meeting places in Trinidad which interests the Africanist, Herskovits says: "Markings in white chalk on the floor, at the doors, and around the center pole are reminiscent of the so-called 'verver' designs found in Haitian vodun rituals" (42, p. 222).

^bFire rituals of one kind or another are parts of ancient and widespread purificatory ceremonies. In a recent article Foster describes the fire-walking rites on St. John's Eve in San Pedro Manrique, a small village in the province of Soria, Spain. His explanation of the physical act of fire-walking is interesting and convincing (31, pp. 325-332). The present writer did not see a rite in which cult members walked barefoot unharmed over glowing embers, but two friends of unimpeachable integrity have witnessed such rites in West Kingston.

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Divination does not seem to occupy as important a place in the revivalist cults of Jamaica as it does in the syncretistic cults of Cuba, Trinidad, Brazil, Haiti and South Africa (5, p. 17; 40, p. 152; 46, pp. 224, 231, 312; 67, p. 258, 88, pp. 234, 253).

No evidence was found to indicate that shells, palm nuts, or beads, items of importance in West African divining and in divining in some parts of the New World, are used in West Kingston. Nor is there much, if any, divination by the dissection of fowls or other animals. The most common technique of divination is that of "concentrating" on a glass of water, a crystal ball, a stone, a picture of one of the saints, or a bunch of flowers or of leaves in order to get an inspiration or a revelation.^a The practitioner may or may not get "in the spirit"; one informant said that he concentrates on a bunch of roses, a crystal ball, or a glass of water and then relaxes and "reads the person." Sometimes one of these objects is held in one hand while a lighted candle or a rod is held in the other hand. Other popular divination methods include: turning the pages of the Bible, especially the Psalms, or of a book of magic to find revelatory messages; palm-reading; the use of playing cards.

Among the less common techniques of divining are "wheeling," walking on broken glass, and writing on the ground. Some shepherds can spin around for five or ten minutes, or even longer, without becoming dizzy or falling. In addition to "wheeling off" a Psalm or a hymn these adepts receive revelations while they are spinning. The infrequently performed "duty" of walking on broken glass shows, if a participant gets cut, that the leader is going to have a spiritual fight with an enemy, or, if a person is going up for trial, that the verdict will be adverse. One of the six practitioners who were willing and able to discuss divination explained his techniques of writing on the ground to foretell coming events. Sometimes this Captain does this "mystic work" by making signs on the ground with his feet. At other times he uses a large iron spike to write "spiritual signs on the earth." These "directions" consist of symbols written at a follower's feet to tell him "what is wrong." Examples of his writing were not very intelligibly explained by this operator, probably because he gets "in the spirit" while divining but he was not possessed while giving this demonstration.

The Effectiveness of Magical Techniques and the Frequency of their Use

The question of the frequency with which divination, conjuring, and healing are employed in West Kingston is a difficult one. Since many of the rites in these areas are privately or secretly performed, no completely satisfactory answer can be given. They are widely known and it is believed in the lower class that they are frequently used. The belief that others

^aIn Trinidad the name for a diviner is "lookman," but this term is not used in West Kingston. A "seer" is one who foretells the future through the use of a crystal ball, a glass of water, etc. A "prophet" prophesies through dreams or visions or without such experiences. A Captain, Leader, or Shepherd may be a seer or a prophet, but other persons also play these roles in West Kingston (46, pp. 196, 224, 312).

are using duppies and evil spirits to cause sickness, death, and troubles. and the attempts which are made to offset these nefarious operations are important regardless of the actual frequency of intentionally harmful rites. As proof of the widespread use of evil, one leader cited the need for "deliverance," that is, the large number of "uplifting" tables which are given. The diagnoses of illnesses and other misfortunes may often be incorrect, and the prescribed treatment is often ineffective, but there are explanations of failure and the beliefs continue. Even if the procedures are not wholly successful the fact is that the client has received personal attention and that the rather dramatic and even violent means give him the feeling that something is being done for him (88, p. 236). Remedial measures, of course, are more susceptible to observation than the conjurer's hostile, aggressive attacks on his or his client's enemy.

Chicanery and Scepticism. Undoubtedly there is chicanery and victimizing in connection with the practice of the various aspects of magic in West Kingston, but there seems to be no accurate way of estimating the proportions of sincerity and of deception in the make-up of a given leader. It is even more difficult to assess the situation as a whole. The present writer is convinced that most of the practitioners believe in what they are doing most of the time, and the strength of belief among the rank and file is obvious to any observer. A remark of Prof. and Mrs. Herskovits about Toco, Trinidad, applies equally well to the people under discussion here: "The absence of skepticism is like that of Africa, where magic and divination are living beliefs, and not, as in Europe and America today, furtive survivals of earlier conviction" (46, p. 313).

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZATION OF REVIVALIST CULTS

Of the fifteen sections of the area known as West Kingston, eleven (Admiral Town, Cockburn Pen, Craig Town, Delacree Pen, Hannah Town, Majesty Pen, New Town, Pinfold Pen, Rose Town, Tower Hill, and Whitfield Town) have no churches of the established denominations. Denham Town has St. Alban's Anglican Mission and a small Presbyterian church, Jones Town has Christ Church (Baptist) and St. Simon's Anglican Mission, the Holy Name Catholic church and the Ebenezer Methodist church are located in Greenwich Town, and there is an Adventist group in Trench Town. Between these established churches at one end of a religious continuum based on emotionality and demonstrativeness, and Pocomania and Revival Zionist churches at the other extreme, is a middle group consisting of branches of American Negro apostolic gospel missions, their local counterparts, and several other religious groups. The Church of God has centres in Jones Town and Whitfield Town, Gospel Hall in Jones Town, Philadelphia Gospel Mission in Greenwich Town, Bible Way in Cockburn Pen, Jehovah's Witnesses in Whitfield Town, and the Salvation Army in Jones Town. The Kingston City Mission is located in Hannah Town, the Beth-lem Church of God, the Bible Church of God and the New Testament Church of the Redeemer in Whitfield Town, the Pentecostal Mission in Cockburn Pen, and the Evangelical Church of God in Trench Town. In addition, there are from sixty to eighty revivalist churches, ranging in size from twenty-five to two hundred members, in West Kingston. The religious faiths of West Kingston are shown below on a continuum of demonstrativeness.

Pocomania	Revival Zionist	Bethlehem Church of God Bible Church of God Evangelical Church of God Kingston City Mission New Testament Church of Christ the Redeemer Pentecostal Mission	Bible Way Church of God Gospel Hall Jehovah's Witnesses Philadelphia Gospel Mission Salvation Army	Adventist Anglican Baptist Catholic Methodist Presbyterian
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According to the *Census of Jamaica and Possessions, 1943*, the percentages of church members in the island's population were: Anglican, 28; Baptist, 25; Methodist, 9; Presbyterian, 7.5; Roman Catholic, 5.7; Moravian, 4; Church of God, 3.5; Adventist, 2.2; Congregationalist, 1.7; Salvation Army,

1.1; Pocomania (revivalist), 0.3. It seems likely that the 0.3 per cent for the revivalist group is an undercount because the term Pocomania is not acceptable to most revivalists, and because many revivalists regard themselves as Baptists.^a According to *Spotlight*, Jamaican monthly news magazine (August, 1953), Jehovah's Witnesses and the Seventh Day Adventists are the most rapidly growing churches in Jamaica.^b This may be true for the churches keeping systematic records. It is extremely difficult to estimate the ebb and flow of revivalist membership for the island, for West Kingston, or even, for example, Trench Town.

It was pointed out earlier that it is difficult to distinguish between Pocomania and Revival Zionist cults. Alleged differences between Pocomania and Revival Zion, according to West Kingston informants, include: (a) Pocomanians carry on harmful work ("deal in Negromancy" (*sic*), "use monuments"), (b) "Poco carries a pole" (pole erected in yard from which the church's banner is flown), (c) sodomy more common among Pocomanians, (d) more emphasis on singing and dancing and less on preaching (Bible explanations) in Pocomania, (e) ways of groaning (labouring in the spirit) are not the same in Pocomania and Revival Zion. Our conclusion is that the Pocomania label may be applied to a number of cults in West Kingston which are characterized by more frequent use of conjuring, more extreme techniques of healing, less emphasis on preaching and more emphasis on singing and dancing, and, perhaps, greater emotional instability among the leaders.

Personal data collected on a dozen West Kingston revivalist leaders (nine men and three women) indicate that the majority were born in the country (in the parishes of St. Catherine, St. Ann, St. Mary, St. Elizabeth), and that none had had more than six years of schooling and three had gone to school for less than three years. The age range was 23 to 73, the number of years as a leader varied from 1 to 50, and the call to leadership came through one or more of the following: dreams, visions, sickness, serving an apprenticeship. Two of the men in this group are alcoholics or near-alcoholics, and three others occasionally drink rum. At least two of these five are, or have been, ganja smokers.

The earnings of West Kingston revivalist leaders range from 15 shillings to £12 or £15 per week. In ordinary weeks, most leaders net less than £5 for their work. In unusual weeks, leaders are known to have earned from £15 to £40.

Leaders included in this study have been in their present locations from six months to forty-six years. It is not uncommon for a leader to change locations; one Revival Zionist has had thirteen church sites in twenty-four years (one in St. Thomas, one in Clarendon, one in St. Catherine, one in

^aSec discussion of "The Present Denominational Situation" in (14 Chap. II) on this point.

^bJoe Bielicki writes in *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, April 14, 1955, p. 24: "The laymen's movement is strongly represented in Jamaica as men and women preach the gospel of Christ to their neighbors, win souls, and raise up churches so fast that some ministers have to take care of fifteen to twenty churches. In the West Jamaica Conference more than three thousand souls were baptized during the last two years, and in the East Jamaica Conference . . . there were more than twenty-five hundred baptisms. I believe God will bless Jamaica with twelve thousand baptized souls within the next two years."

Portland, and nine in West Kingston). A Pocomania Captain led bands in St. Catherine, St. Elizabeth, St. Ann, Trelawny, and Manchester before coming to West Kingston. All of another leader's groups have been in West Kingston: two years in Rose Town, twelve years in Whitfield Town, seven years in New Town, and twelve years in Jones Town.

The claimed memberships of the revivalist churches observed in this study varied from thirty to one hundred and twenty-four. Judging from the attendance at services of various kinds, and, in several cases, from the membership rolls, these were not inflated claims. In the cult groups studied, and in many more which were observed casually, women outnumbered men four or five to one. One leader had established two branches in St. Mary, one in Old Harbour, and hoped to start one in Spanish Town.

The titles of office most frequently encountered are those of (a) Leader, Captain, or Shepherd, (b) Mother, (c) Armour Bearer, (d) Elder, and (e) Deacon. Rosters of officers for six bands are listed below.

BAND I

Leader

Deacon and Deaconess—assistants to the Leader.

Mothers: Field Mother carries on work of church.

Journey Mother is in charge of pilgrimages.

Water Mother takes charge of candidates for baptism.

Armour Bearers: Two officers who read the Bible in meetings, set the table, and hold persons who are too violently possessed.

BAND II

Elders: Two drummers.

Leader (Founder, Pioneer Deacon).

Captain: Second in command.

Mother (Elder).

Leaderess (Younger Mother).

Nurse or Water Bearer: Serves water to members when needed.

Church Reporter: Gives reports to members on recent happenings.

Messenger: Carries officers' messages.

Letter Bearer: Messenger for Leader only.

Maid: Responsible for Leader's spiritual garment.

Secretary: Keeps minutes of all meetings.

Treasurer: Looks after financial matters.

Trustees: Responsible for finances of church and keep ritual articles in good condition.

Elders: Executive committee of church. May hold other offices.

BAND III

Mother

Assistant Mother

Five Elders (men or women)

BAND V

Captain

Band Mother

Water Mother

Healing Mother

Warriors. Wave flags; assist Captain.

Armour Bearers

BAND IV

Shepherd

Elders

Mothers

Armour Bearers

BAND VI

Shepherd

Under Shepherd

Mother

Armour Bearers

Elders

Secretary or Bible Mother

Acolytes

Governess (Assistant to Mother)

Shepherd Boy

Water Mothers

Water Man (assistant to Leader at Baptisms)

In some groups a "planner" locates the four corners of a new church building, and some Pocomania bands have a "diver" who plunges into a deep place in a river and brings up a "river spirit" (members then "labour," talk in "tongues," and despatch the spirit back into the water). "Prophets" are found in some revivalist groups and so are "watchmen" (those who watch for the developments prophesied by the prophets). "Approvers" may be appointed to see that everything about a "table" is properly arranged, and they, with watchmen, observe the general behaviour of a group's members to see that it is proper.^a

Nearly all revivalist leaders are authoritarians in handling the affairs of their churches. The clearest statement of the relationship between a leader and his followers came from an experienced Revival Zionist.

The Leader is responsible for the spiritual work of his flock. He is not supposed to go to dances, to drink strong alcohol, or to gamble. He is not supposed to black-guard or to reveal scandal. He is not supposed to be a thief. He must be quiet, bearing the worst things patiently. He must prepare himself for the good life and the hard life. He must bear any kind of hardship. He is not supposed to criticize without cause, although there will be things that he will have to go against.

He is supposed to give justice to the members of his group.

It is his privilege to baptize his own people. All instruction in the church must be given by the Leader. The Leader appoints all the officers and he watches how they keep the work. He may remove anyone from office at any time.

Some Leaders expect their members to give them one-tenth [of their earnings]. I depend upon free will offerings. When I am sick, the church hires a helper [a nurse] and the people give gifts. Gifts are given also when I am in trouble.

This leader plays the role of "judge" unassisted by a "watchman" or a "prover" and tries to settle problems which arise within the membership of the church. If a member is thinking of going to court over a dispute, he talks with him and tries to effect an agreement. He follows the same procedure in the case of quarrels over gossip and scandal which would not go to court. He added: "When there is a fight or a murder, the government steps in."

In the case of some revivalist leaders, there can be little doubt that sexual irregularities, heterosexual or homosexual, characterize their relationships with some followers. In other cases, unmarried leaders follow the general lower class pattern of "living" or "keeping."

If a leader is not qualified to baptize, that is, if he is inexperienced, lacks confidence, or is a woman, a "minister" is engaged to immerse his converts.

Two or more groups may co-operate for a special occasion, but intense competition is the rule among the scores of revivalist churches in West Kingston. Anyone can start a church, and a leader who has sixty or more members may find that the appearance of a rival in the neighbourhood has reduced his following to two or three. Rivals may stand near a leader's gate

^aApparently these offices are less common and have a somewhat different meaning in West Kingston than they do in Toco, Trinidad. "The role of the 'judge' who tests leaders and settles disputes within the group, or of the 'surveyra,' who finds the four corners within which worship is carried on, or of the 'diver' who brings back the spirit of those possessed, or of the 'prophet,' are found in African cult-groups. The 'watchman' and 'prover,' who seek out evil-doers and test the rectitude of members have their African counterparts . . . (46 p. 306).

after a service and invite his members to come to their churches. Such rivals may or may not spread rumours of various kinds about a successful leader. "Domestic troubles" ("petty jealousies" or "general disagreements") in the church may cause one faction to secede. One man said: "One who loses his following simply goes about recruiting another. This goes on all the time." The survival of a revivalist church depends mainly upon the personality and ingenuity of the leader.

Occasionally members of Ras Tafari, an anti-white, lower-class political movement, come to a revivalist meeting and try to "mash it up." They announce that the revivalist service is wrong and denounce Christianity and preachers (83, p. 133, 84, p. 167).

Revivalist leaders have to compete also with the established denominations and with the apostolic gospel missions which are supported by funds from abroad. Revivalist members of a cult whose fortunes prosper may shift to the Church of God, or a similar group, and those who become still more prosperous may join the Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, or Roman Catholic churches. There are some changes from the established denominations to revivalist churches, but the movement in the other direction seems to be stronger. For the most part, the new members of a revivalist church are people who have never gone to any church or who have belonged to another revivalist church.

The two leading political parties, the Peoples National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party, provide revivalist leaders with some competition, especially during election campaigns. The hundreds of lodges do not compete seriously with revivalist groups because these friendly societies stress mainly sickness and death benefits. Some lower-class persons belong to six or more of these societies.

CHAPTER VI

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE REVIVALIST CULTS

Elsewhere we have given some indication of the attitudes of lower, middle, and upper-class Jamaicans and foreigners toward the anti-white Ras Tafari cult, (83, p. 144) and some reactions to revivalism are given in Chapter VIII of this study. Since the attitudes of the better-placed have some bearing on the continued existence of the revivalist cults, and because they are interesting in themselves, some attention is devoted to them here.

Perhaps it may be assumed that the laws of Jamaica which bear directly or indirectly on cult activities reflect the sentiments of the community, or at least of the articulate and influential segments of the community. The laws dealing specifically with obeah are Chapters 421 and 422, *Laws of Jamaica*, Volume 5, 1938.

THE OBEAH LAW

Section 2. "'A person practicing obeah' means any person who, to effect any fraudulent or unlawful purpose, or for gain, or for the purpose of frightening any person, uses, or pretends to use, an occult means, or pretends to possess any supernatural power or knowledge; and

"instrument of obeah' means anything used, or intended to be used by a person and pretended by such person to be possessed of any occult or supernatural power."

Section 3. "Every person practicing obeah shall be liable to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding twelve months, and in addition thereto, or in lieu thereof, to whipping."

Section 4. This section provides punishment for anyone who consults for fraudulent or unlawful purpose any person practicing obeah or any person reputed to be an obeah-man, or any person who has been convicted of any offence under any law relating to obeah, or any person pretending to possess supernatural power. The penalty for violation of this section is imprisonment not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour.

Section 5. "Whoever, for the purpose of effecting any object, or of bringing about any event, by the use of occult means, or any supernatural power or knowledge, consults any person practising obeah, or any . . . [see similar part of Section 4] and agrees to reward the person so consulted for such consultation, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding twelve months."

Section 6. "Whenever it is made to appear upon oath that there is reasonable cause to suspect that any person is in possession of any instrument of obeah, it shall be lawful for any Justice of the Peace by warrant to authorize any officer of constabulary, constable, or district constable to enter and search any place, either in the day or in the night, and if any instrument of obeah is found in any place so searched, to seize and bring it before him to be secured, for the purpose of being produced in evidence in any proceeding before any Court of Justice in which it may be required."

Section 7. "Whenever upon any such search as aforesaid, any instrument of obeah is found, the person in whose possession it is found shall be deemed, unless and until the contrary is proved, to be a person practicing obeah within the meaning of this Law, at the time at which the instrument of obeah was so found."

Section 9. "It shall be lawful for any officer of constabulary, constable, or district constable to arrest without warrant any person practicing obeah."

Section 10. "If any person shall compose, print, sell, or distribute any pamphlet, or printed matter calculated to promote the superstition of obeah he shall be guilty

of an offence against this Law, and shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds, or in default, to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding six months."

Chapter 422 of *Laws of Jamaica*, vol. 5, 1938 (The Vagrancy Law). Section 3. "Every person pretending to deal in obeah, myalism, duppy catching, or witchcraft and every person pretending or professing to tell fortunes, or using or pretending to use any subtle craft or device by palmistry or any such like superstitious means to deceive or impose on any person."^a

Sections 3 and 4 of Law Number 33, *Jamaica Laws, 1940*, forbid the importation of any publication judged by the Governor in Privy Council to be contrary to the public interest, and provide penalties for any person who imports, publishes, sells, offers for sale, distributes, reproduces, or has in his possession any publication the importation of which has been prohibited. This Law has been applied to the de Laurence books of magic and similar publications.

The Kingston police are given authority by the Laws of Jamaica to restrict, regulate and control all meetings in public places, including the times for such gatherings, or to prohibit such street meetings (51, p. 359). Although revivalist street meetings are not uncommon in West Kingston, especially along Spanish Town Road on Sunday nights, there is seldom any interference by the police with these meetings. Likewise, the Night Noises Prevention Law (51, p. 4631), a law designed to control musical instruments, singing, or other noise, is seldom utilized.

Arrests on obeah charges are not numerous in the Kingston area. According to statistics provided by a Superintendent of Police, only six arrests on these charges were recorded at the Kingston Police Station in the period April 1, 1952-March 31, 1953. No obeah arrests were listed by the Constabulary Station at Halfway Tree for the police at Halfway Tree, Greenwich Town, and Admiral Town during the same period.^b

The attitudes of Protestant denominations in Jamaica toward the revi-

^aA Kingston barrister stated that it was not so much the practice of obeah *per se* that was crucial in a court case, but whether the practice was for the purpose of frightening (See Chapter 421, Section 2) or for reward. (See Chapter 421, Section 5).

^bPolice officers point out that it is difficult to get witnesses to testify in obeah cases, and that they cannot pay persons to get evidence on the practice of obeah. (The police may, of course, secure their own evidence. *The Gleaner* for October 27, 1953 reported that a resident of Lime Hall had been found guilty of practising obeah and sentenced to pay a fine of £50 or serve two months in prison. Among the exhibits "were magnets, candles, rings, chalice, a book on Obsession and Possession of Spirits, and other literature." An acting corporal testified that the accused had sold him a charm for keeping away spirits. The same newspaper reported on September 18, 1953 the arrest in Stony Hill of a Portland resident on a charge of having "implements of obeah in his possession.") Also, a magistrate may say that accused persons should be prosecuted for practising medicine. Such a case was reported in *The Gleaner* for May 29, 1953. Exhibits in court included a cane, 'divine healing' cards, a hymn book, Bible and 'prescriptions.' The Magistrate dismissed the two persons charged jointly with the practice of obeah because the prosecution did not have more convincing evidence. "He gave both women a stern warning to cease their practices, and said he felt there might have been a case against them had they been charged with practising medicine, instead of practising obeah." In a case reported in *The Gleaner* for September 2, 1953, the magistrate dismissed the case against two women who were alleged to have charged for a charm designed to get a man a better job because the evidence for the Crown was conflicting and "in any event it did not disclose that Shirley pretended to be in possession of supernatural occult powers." The persons charged in these two cases were residents of East Kingston.

valist cults are well presented by J. Merle Davis. According to Davis, "the indictment brought against the irresponsible sects is a heavy one" and includes charges of teaching disobedience to the government, non-payment of taxes, the futility of education, the encouragement of stealing and immoral relations, incitement to hatred and fear, attacks on the established churches, spreading superstition, promoting insanity among their followers, and telling their members they may live as they like (25, p. 43). This formidable, blanket indictment does not apply to a number of revivalist groups studied by the writer in West Kingston in 1953. In the chapter on the revivalist belief system we have discussed "immoral relations" and inciting to hatred and fear under the heading of "sins and taboos" and there is a further treatment of these matters in the chapter on the functions of the cults. In the latter chapter we attempt to show that supernatural sanctions and the blessing of revivalist leaders give support to the *mores* which prevail in Jamaica's lower class. Revivalism "spreads superstition" in the sense that its belief system is expounded and defended by Leaders and Captains, but it should not be overlooked that this belief system is the functional equivalent of the doctrines of the established churches. The question of "promoting insanity" among the followers of revivalism is also considered in the chapter on the functions and dysfunctions of these cults. Revivalist leaders do criticize the established churches, but that any significant number of them tell their members to live as they like, encourage stealing, or teach disobedience to the government is seriously to be questioned. Davis quotes the superintendent of a group of churches, who was also a Justice of the Peace in his district, as saying that the people exhaust themselves in Pocomania meetings and "the next day they are worn out and cannot work properly. The children are too sleepy to keep awake in school or do not attend. Pocomania is wearing down the minds and constitutions of its devotees" (25, p. 44). This is an interesting, if somewhat over-simplified interpretation of the revivalist cults. An alternative analysis, and one which is sociologically more adequate, would point out that: those who are involved in revivalism are at the lower end of the socio-economic scale, their work is dull, family life is unstable, school is not very meaningful, and their expectations for satisfactions in this life are not great. As we attempt to show in our discussion of the functions and dysfunctions of revivalism, these cults fit well into the total situation in which their members are located. According to our point of view, the conditions of life in the lower class create an atmosphere where revivalism and obeah can flourish. This atmosphere, plus the strength of the cultural traditions which have been handed down orally from the past, go far to explain the appeal of the demonstrative and semi-demonstrative cults.^a Middle-class sentiments and habits have great utility for middle-class people, but the supe-

^aWe do not, of course, have in mind any kind of biological or racial explanation. Many Jamaicans of African descent have no interest in revivalism and/or obeah, and this group includes many lower class persons. In our view, we are dealing here with social class phenomena and not with "strong racial emotions" (25, p. 93) or with some mysterious "fourth dimension" that eludes the white man's "instincts" (25, p. 47).

riority of middle-class ways is not overwhelmingly obvious to lower-class persons. It may be reasonable to expect that a significant number of lower-class persons may be oriented to sobriety, learning, industriousness, self-discipline, etc.; it may not be reasonable to expect unemployed and underemployed, untutored, rejected, undernourished, and (in some cases) ill lower class persons to behave, religiously and otherwise, like ambitious, respectable and respected, competitive, and disciplined middle-class people.

Although the subject has not been studied exhaustively, it is usually said that there is little race prejudice *per se* in Jamaica. There is, however, class and shade prejudice.^a The popularity of the revivalist cults and the recent growth of such groups as the Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Church of God is related to the existence of society-wide class and shade prejudices, as well as to the fervour and zeal of these churches.

An example of the denunciation of revivalism which appears from time to time in the newspapers of Jamaica is cited by J. J. Williams. This editorial appeared in *The Daily Gleaner* of October 13, 1932 in response to an Open Letter to Ministers which was published in this paper the previous day:

... Pocomania, then, is a frenzy brought about by men and women exciting themselves—'jumping like kangaroos,' as Mr. Ferguson expresses it—singing hymns calculated to stimulate the emotions, deliberately surrendering their minds and bodies to superstitious influences. The leaders of these revivalists or Pocomanians claim to be able to exorcise ghosts that are haunting afflicted persons, and also to cure the sick by anointing them with special mixtures, usually of an evil-smelling description. These men are nothing but a survival of the 'Myal men' of a hundred years ago, and of West African priests who practiced the same rites in their native country. And they seem to thrive on their deceptions.

... those who have seen the ceremonies by which ghosts are supposed to be laid and sickness to be cured, recognize that even the ejaculatory manner adopted by Mr. Ferguson in describing them does not exaggerate the facts. The thing itself is worse than any picture of it could be, and it is no wonder that he wants to know whether the practices are not a form of Obeah, even if carried on under the guise of Christianity. He suggests that legislation should be brought to bear on this Pocomanism and that the ministers of the island should unite to crush the Pocomaniacs, 'an ignorant set of dancing, prancing steppers, a set of howling windbags, men too lazy to work, self-styled 'shepherds' determined to make a mess of Christianity.'

... But it is no use appealing to the ministers of religion; they cannot put a stop to it. Preaching and teaching will doubtless have a salutary effect in the long

^aHenriques uses the term "white bias" to describe "one of the chief psychological motivations in the society." He concludes that "... 'colour' as interpreted in Jamaica consists in the evaluation of data concerned not only with actual skin colour, but with features, hair formation, and skin texture. The further removed an individual is from the African and the nearer to the European ideal, the greater his social prestige. This is a manifestation which overleaps class barriers and is found throughout the society. The widespread male preference for a mate of 'better' colour than himself is evidence of its class-wide incidence. But friction about colour does not take place only within the family, where it may be extremely acute, but is carried into the public sphere where it is the major determinant of social distance between people" (36, p. 168).

Kerr makes an interesting point concerning the ambivalent feelings of the same person to colour. She writes: "... you get different attitudes to colour in the same person. One day a person will be bitter and anti-white, yet when another constellation is involved he will be concerned with fears and dislike only of people darker than himself. It is as if in some constellations he is the almost white man with white ideals, in others he is the dark man resenting white domination. These constellations exist together and to some extent neutralize each other, leaving the individual perplexed and insecure" (49, p. 96).

run, but that long run means years and years, a couple of generations, perhaps a century. We ought to have a quicker and more effective action to deal with the evil; such action means legislation, and that in its turn will demand a comprehensive description and definition of the practices to be suppressed. That may not be easy, but we should hope that it will not be impossible. The claim to 'take off ghosts, to heal diseases by anointing with oil, and incantations, is really a form of fraud such as Obeah is defined to be in our laws. A disguise is thrown over these things by the use of terms current in the Christian religion, but the fraud, the superstition, the vileness of the dancing and the sexual excitation that follows are patent to everyone except the deluded. It will have to be the lawyers, however, who must try their hands at framing legislation to suppress the practices complained of. We hope these lawyers will be equal to the task, for these orgiastic revival dances—this Pocomanism which seems to be more common than should be possible at this date of our history—undoubtedly do much to frustrate the efforts made by educationists and the religious organizations in this country.

Williams expresses doubt concerning the efficacy of legislation of the type proposed in this editorial of 1932. He writes: "But even if they do legislate against this latest Myalistic outbreak, it is to be feared that they will at best abolish for a time the public expression of the real spirit which we must expect merely to retire once more to secret functions in preparation for the day when it will ultimately break out anew under another guise in which it will not be immediately recognized..." (93, p. 173).

CHAPTER VII

FUNCTIONS AND DYSFUNCTIONS OF REVIVALIST CULTS

In the functional approach to the study of culture, an attempt is made to show the inter-relationships which exist among the various aspects of the culture of a given society. Functional analysis is concerned with the contributions which a given type of institutionalized activity makes to the adjustment of individuals, to the adaptation (survival) of a group, or to the perpetuation or undermining of existing social structures.

It is not sufficient to say, as P. L. Fermor does in discussing Barbadian life, that "revivalism and rum are two important means of expression in a social system that affords few other outlets for the humbler colored Barbadians" (30, p. 144). Nor does Goldschmidt's additional factor in the appeal of emotional religion go far enough.

What is there in the emotionalism of the outsider churches which at once so attracts the poor and so repels the well-to-do? It has been explained as entertainment, as sensual thrill, as a release for people whose life is humdrum at best, oppressive as a rule. So is drinking, and so are the other forms of worldly pleasure which they are denying themselves. This reasoning is not false, but it does not go far enough. The appeal of the emotional religion and the asceticism for the disfranchised is this: *It denies the existence of this world with its woes; it denies the values in terms of which they are the underprivileged and sets up in their stead a putative society in the Kingdom of God, where, because of their special endowments (which we call emotionalism), they are the élite. It is the society of the saved. Millenarianism is of the essence, for it is thus that the putative society is created; asceticism is the denial of the world in which they have been denied; and emotional participation is public acclamation of their personal acceptance into this world of super-reality* (34, p. 354). [Emphasis mine].

Demonstrative religions do provide entertainment, sensual thrill, release for people whose life is humdrum at best, and a putative society, where the underprivileged of this world are the élite, but much more is involved in a given species of emotional religion. We shall try to give a fuller functional analysis of Jamaican revivalism. In this discussion we shall not distinguish sharply between the religion and the magic of revivalists, but consider rather the revivalist magico-religious complex.

Revivalists in West Kingston, and elsewhere in the island, find emotional release in magico-religious thoughts and rituals. Vigorous, and at times almost violent activity, provide relief from the frustrations which go with economic and political inferiority, and the other-world compensation function has great adjustment value (86, p. 526). This religion, like all religions, functions to establish interaction within the family and the community following major life crises, and it has a special importance in the daily "adjustment-to-life-crises" which the recent arrival from the country has to make to city life (86, p. 525). On the positive side, conjuring, whether effective or not, may serve as an outlet for some of the individual's aggressive impulses

and give him the feeling that he is doing something about his troubles.

Revivalist rituals offer many opportunities for *ego* gratification. Self-expression comes through singing, (spiritual) dancing, playing a drum, shaking a rattle or tambourine, handclapping, waving a flag, marching, carrying a banner or ceremonial object in a procession, praying aloud, reading a Bible "lesson," etc. Individuals gain recognition through holding such offices as Leader, Mother, Armour Bearer, and Elder, and there is much satisfaction in sharing the secrets of the esoteric group and in believing that in the realm of religion the initiates constitute the *élite*.

The advice and counsel of the leader help to resolve all kinds of personal problems for a devotee (67, p. 305), and the friendship and affection afforded the members of the in-group is especially rewarding in an area characterized by as much anomie as there is in West Kingston.

We have dealt at some length with techniques of healing in Chapter IV. Without doubt, some of the healing methods are injurious, but it is also true that many persons who are ill, or who think they are ill, believe that they have obtained and can obtain beneficial treatments from the healers. The physical contact between leader and patient, the emotional stimulus given by the leader's presence, and the interest, encouragement, and moral support of fellow believers are important elements in the "recovery" of the ill.^a

The mutual aid functions of a revivalist group are limited, but donations may be collected to assist a member who is seriously ill, or to help when there is a death, or in the event of a court case or other trouble.

The recreational functions of revivalism, like those of Ras Tafariism, are mainly in the entertainment and enjoyment which the meetings themselves provide. The cost of an exciting evening service is little or nothing, a matter of importance to people of little means. Two or three times annually a church may sponsor a "concert" during which the members sing and recite, and occasional outings may be arranged for the group.

The artistic aspects of revivalism are seen in the music (singing and drumming), in the arrangement of the "tables" (candles, flowers, fruits, etc.), and in the decoration of the churches (banners, placards, pictures, etc.).

Revivalism provides its devotees with a meaningful world view, that is, with explanations of the powerful natural phenomena of the universe, human origins, the nature of God and the spirits, the purpose of life, life after death, and other basic questions.

Mystic experiences, complementing the "intellectually" satisfying world view of revivalism, have a strong appeal for devotees. Identification with archangels and other spirits through possession is regarded by many as the supreme religious experience. As Herskovits has said: "Of all the means by which the individual achieves oneness with the supernatural, none is more

^aSundkler mentions "the zeal and energy of the Zulu Zionists, and their personal interest in those who have fallen ill" (88, p. 236).

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striking, more convincing to those who believe, and apparently more satisfying, than possession" (41, p. 372).

The social class system also is related to revivalism. The established churches have many lower-class members; the revivalist churches have nothing but lower-class members and these persons come largely from the lower range of the lower class. If the fortunes of a revivalist improve markedly, the probabilities are high that revivalism will not serve his new needs and that he will transfer to a more orthodox church. Revivalist churches, semi-demonstrative cults, and the established denominations mesh rather well with the stratification system and tend to reinforce and perpetuate it.

The collective experiences of the rituals reinforce the attitudes and sentiments of devotees and thus serve to perpetuate revivalism itself.

Whatever else may be said about Jamaican revivalism, it cannot be claimed that it is a political underground.^a Revivalism has been functional in the sense that it has given support to the *status quo*. No value judgement is made here concerning this influence, or lack of influence, on the political order.^b Ras Tafari, a movement that is violently anti-white on the verbal level, attracts lower-class persons with hostile political views (83, p. 133-149; 84, p. 167). Both the revivalist and the Ras Tafari cults have negative political functions in so far as they emphasize the withdrawal theme. In the revivalist groups withdrawal is through the invention of a symbolic Utopia and the devotees prepare for life in the next world. In the Ras Tafari groups the members believe that they cannot succeed under existing conditions in Jamaica, and that it is advisable to withdraw from political activities and prepare for a return to Ethiopia, the Homeland. This negativism on the part of both revivalists and Ras Tafarians contributes to a continuation of existing political institutions—withdrawal from Jamaican political life reduces the pressure on the government to consider the situation of these cultists.

However, not all revivalists are indifferent to political life, and Jamaican politicians assiduously cultivate the potential voters of densely populated West Kingston, especially in pre-election periods. We have referred in Chapter IV to a Sunday evening "table" service sponsored by a branch of the Jamaica Labour Party, but by no means all of the revivalists who take an interest in political affairs support this party. One young man who had planned to attend the service just mentioned left when he found that it was being sponsored by a branch of the J.L.P. He said he was a member of the Peoples National Party and could not, therefore, stay. The revivalist leader who served as master of ceremonies on this occasion said in an interview later that he is for neither party, that he would conduct a service for

^aSundkler states that this is true also of the Zulu Zionist movement in South Africa. This is interesting in view of the colour bar in South Africa and some nativistic aspects of the Zionist movement (88, pp. 13, 32).

^bIn the early days of *vodun* in Haiti, the cult was dysfunctional to existing social structures because it was used to undermine and overthrow the French colonial regime. A number of Haitian residents have feared that the cult would be used again as a revolutionary force but history seems not to have repeated itself in this respect.

either party. He said he wants to live peacefully and that if a leader doesn't lead a service when it is asked for, the minor politicians will really make trouble for him. On the other hand, another leader is openly identified with the J.L.P., received some funds from the Party in 1953, and sometimes used the word "labour" in the name of his "mission."

The political aspects of revivalism within cult groups are relatively unimportant since most of the groups are dominated almost completely by the leader. A political item of some interest is the insistence by some leaders that family disputes and disputes within the band be brought to them for settlement.

Except for the economic gains of leaders, revivalism has no outstanding economic functions. Many revivalists in West Kingston are unemployed or underemployed, and the others are employed in unskilled and semi-skilled low-income work. Their other-world orientation is well adapted to their economic situation. Negatively, the economic situation resembles the political; withdrawal from economic life relieves pressure for the modification of economic institutions.

In discussing the belief system of revivalism, attention was called to the justification of common-law marriage by revivalist leaders and to the supernatural sanctions of such marriage as revealed in the way the legal wife, the common-law wife or wives, and all of his children regard a man's spirit after his death. Lower-class family life and revivalism reinforce each other.

With the exception of Bible reading and the "teachings" of the leader during the various services, and the indoctrination which children receive in the family, the educational functions of revivalism are negligible. One leader known to the writer conducts a "school" for young children, but this enterprise, in charge of a young girl, consists mainly of learning by rote the capitals of the parishes of Jamaica, simple number work, etc. Few of the revivalist groups attempt to conduct Sunday Schools, and such efforts as are made along this line are not very successful.

Unquestionably revivalism in Jamaica has dysfunctions as well as functions both for individuals and for existing social structures. Leaders are aware of its financial possibilities and probably most of them get as much as they can from their followers. Despite such exploitation and the domination of leaders, revivalist doctrines and procedures are of very great importance to believers and, in most cases, they appear to "get their money's worth." While some are helped by revivalist healing techniques, no doubt others are injured by these procedures. Some devotees show more than the usual preoccupation with duppies, but it would be difficult to demonstrate that the worries and phobias of such persons are attributable solely or mainly to revivalism rather than to early childhood experiences, general environmental conditions, and constitutional idiosyncrasies, and that excessive fears would not have been related to other effects if these persons had had no experience in the cults. Nevertheless, one agrees that, as in the case of

Navaho witchcraft, the cost of the magical side of revivalism includes projected aggression and some social disruption.^a We conclude that, under the present socio-economic, medical, familial, educational, and recreational conditions of lower-class Jamaicans, revivalist activities are more functional than dysfunctional for most members.^b

Functional alternatives, or functional equivalents (57, p. 35), of revivalism for other lower-class Jamaicans include: the orthodox Christian churches, the Ras Tafari movement, labour unions, political parties, clubs, and co-operative associations. Because of differences in intelligence, education, skills, temperament, community contacts and so forth, these and other functional alternatives are not equally available to all lower-class persons.

We have not sought to prove the rightness or the validity of revivalism.^c We think that it "fits" well into the total context of lower-class Jamaican life. Revivalism is related to the major aspects of Jamaican culture, and it contributes to the perpetuation of most of the existing social structures. It may be dysfunctional to some extent as far as the orthodox churches are concerned.

^aKluckhohn writes: "Probably as a natural consequence of the insistence that witchcraft does have important adaptive and adjustive effects, the cost has been too little stressed. In many cases witchcraft belief undoubtedly does more to promote fear and timidity than to relieve aggressive tendencies. The fears consequent upon witchcraft tend to restrict the life activities of some persons, to curtail their social participation. Perhaps the witchcraft pattern assemblage tends to mainly adjustive for individuals who tend to be aggressive, mainly disruptive for those who tend to be non-aggressive. . . ." (50, p. 68).

^aSundkler writes that the healing message of the prophets of the Zulu Zionist churches "in South Africa" attracts an ever increasing number of people from other Churches [and] shows that it appeals to a very real and vital need. The Healing Message promises quick results and immediate relief." Later he says: "These healers are . . . a very definite threat to the progress of the African. Their rash promises are more high-sounding than they are sound. They cannot by their methods bring the Africans out of the vicious circle of malnutrition—ill health—low wages—low social status—race hatred, but only serve to accelerate the downward plunge" (88, p. 236). To the present writer several comments seem in order: (1) the omission at this point of mention of the colour bar, although earlier he quotes with approval Senator E. H. Brookes' statement that separatism "has been the result, to a very large extent of the presence of the colour bar within the Christian Church" (p. 37); (2) the healing message is less needed in Jamaica than in South Africa and it is not proclaimed as aggressively; and (3) much emphasis should be placed on the kind of statement which precedes the passage quoted above ("These healers are . . ."), i.e.: "The real clue to an understanding of the appeal of the Healing Message to South African Natives is to be found in a social setting where ill-health, malnutrition and child mortality take a terrible toll." (p. 237; see also p. 236). Writing on the subject of witchcraft, Nadel says: ". . . the witchcraft beliefs enable a society to go on functioning in a given manner, fraught with conflicts and contradictions which the society is helpless to resolve; the witchcraft beliefs thus absolve the society from a task apparently too difficult for it, namely, some radical readjustment. But from the observer's point of view it is doubtful if this is more than a poor and ineffectual palliative or can be called a solution 'less harmful' than open hostility or even the break-up of the existing institutions and relationships" (64, p. 29). In three of the four societies investigated by Nadel, witchcraft is more openly and more widely practiced than it is in Jamaica. Also, we are dealing here with a total magico-religious complex (revivalism) rather than with a witchcraft complex alone.

^cIn a paper titled "Toward a Sociology of Religion" presented at the meetings of the American Sociological Society in Washington, D.C., on August 31, 1955, J. M. Yinger pointed out that some sociologists and anthropologists have used the functional approach "to 'prove' the rightness or validity of religion in general or of some specific practice or belief" (94).

CHAPTER VIII
ACCULTURATION IN WEST KINGSTON

African and European Cultures

In discussions of acculturation in the New World, it must be kept in mind that there were many similarities in the cultures of Africa and Europe before 1500. Bascom has said:

"There were a number of institutions common to both regions, including a complex economic system based on money, markets, and middle-men, as well as a large number of crafts among which iron-working was important; a well developed system of government based on kings, and courts of law in which cases were tried by specialists (lawyers) and in which ordeals were employed to decide certain cases; a religious system with a complex hierarchy of priests and deities; a common stock of folklore and a common emphasis on moralizing elements and proverbs. Aside from writing, the wheel, the plow, and Christianity most of the distinctive traits of Western civilization seem to have followed the industrial revolution" (3, p. 43).

In an excellent historical study, Curtin stresses the importance of the diversity of national origin in making Jamaican Negro culture American rather than purely African. Most Jamaicans came from West Africa and the differences in their cultural backgrounds were those of regions within a common culture area. For the most part the Europeanization of the slaves did not extend beyond plantation work, and the slave children were educated by their elders. A new culture evolved, "compounded of the diverse elements of the African heritage and some European elements—always tending to emphasize these elements that were common to all groups. This process of cumulative adaptation and amalgamation of Negro cultures had continued for a century and a half. By the 1830's the Afro-Jamaican culture was solidly established, and it was passed on to each new generation as it had long been passed by a process of assimilation to new arrivals from Africa" (24, p. 25).

The largest number of African culture elements retained in the New World is found in religion, magic, music, and folklore, (41, pp. 636, 615),^a but African traditions are discernible in family life, and, in some countries, in work and in language.

Our discussion of the acculturative process in West Kingston deals with religion, magic, healing, and familial behaviour. We are not interested here merely in the question of the presence or absence of Africanisms in Jamaica. As in the study of other New World societies, the problem is "the determination of the manner in which elements of European, African, and, to a lesser degree, American Indian cultures had exerted mutual influences on

^aIn a recent article, Métraux points out that studies of Haitian folklore have often emphasized the African heritage and neglected the French tradition. There is no aspect of peasant life, he says, which does not show the imprint of France. (62, p. 289).

one another and . . . had been merged to produce their present-day ways of life" (43, p. 145). In some institutions in Jamaica, it is clear that the influence is entirely or almost entirely European, that is, in technology, economic life, art, and government. In some aspects of culture, the African influence is quite important, namely, in folklore, music and magic. Kinship institutions, language, and religion show some African influences.^a While American Indian elements have been significant in the cultural amalgams that have developed in some parts of the New World, they seem not to have played an important role in Jamaica.

The Sacred Books

The Bible is the sacred book for the religious side of Jamaican revivalism, with more emphasis put upon the Old Testament than upon the New Testament. The theology is fundamentalist, and the passages utilized are interpreted in accordance with the total Afro-European belief system of the cults. On the magical side of revivalism, such apocryphal works as *The Sixth and Seventh Book of Moses* are of great importance.

The Spirits

The linking of African gods and the Catholic version of the saints is easily seen and has been traced in some detail for *vodun* in Haiti, *santería* in Cuba, the Afro-Brazilian cults: *candomblé* (Bahia), *batuque* or *pará* (Porto Alegre), *macumba* (Rio de Janeiro) and *xango* (Pernambuco), and *shango* in Trinidad. (4; 28, pp. 83 ff; 37; 44, pp. 502 ff; 46, pp. 327-333; 53, pp. 180 ff; 67, ch. 10; 70, pp. 138 ff; 77, pp. 39-46). African gods play no part in the Shouters sects of Trinidad nor in the revivalist groups in Jamaica. The important spiritual powers of Trinidad's Protestant Shouters are God, Jesus, and the Holy Ghost, although one informant did associate some of the saints (St. Mount Carmel, Lady St. Anne, St. Catherine, St. Mary, St. Theresa, St. Joseph, St. Michael, St. Anthony, St. Patrick, St. John, and Ezekiel) with the "spiritual Baptist" worship (46, p. 207). Jamaican revivalism is polytheistic (42, p. 71) in the sense that the other world is peopled by many spirits who take an interest in the affairs of men.^b These "spirits", as previously indicated, include Old Testament prophets, New Testament saints, God, Jesus, the Holy Ghost, the Mother of Jesus, angels and archangels, Satan and Rutilbel, beings from the de Laurence publications, and the dead. The form of

^aSee the "scale of intensity of New World Africanisms" given in M. J. Herskovits, (41, p. 615). The sub-areas in this scale, from the greatest degree of retention to the least, are: Dutch Guiana (bush), Guiana (Paramaribo), Haiti (peasant), Haiti (urban), Brazil (Bahia), Brazil (Porto Alegre), Brazil (north-urban), Brazil (north-rural), Jamaica (Maroons), Jamaica (general), Trinidad (Toco), Trinidad (Port of Spain), Cuba, Virgin Islands, Gulla Islands, United States (rural south), United States (north).

^bP. D. Curtin (24, p. 34) says that "the Afro-Christian synthesis was a natural development in the slave society of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Given the isolation of the estates, the insulation of the Negroes from white culture, and the prestige of the masters' gods, it was an easy step to elevate Christ and John the Baptist into the remnants of the African pantheon. Even under the impact of constant missionary influence, some sort of Afro-Christian unorthodoxy would have been likely. . . ."

the gods has changed in the shift from West Africa to the New World, but the idea (meaning) of many spirits, and very active spirits, has been retained and reinterpreted in the reintegration of African and European religious elements which has developed in Jamaican revivalism.

It should be stressed that the Christian and non-Christian spirits of revivalism are by no means minor beings in the background of the believers' theology; they are always present, and vividly present, and must always be reckoned with. One definitely African characteristic of revivalist spirits is their capacity for both good and evil. Herskovits remarks that "the tradition in African thought which holds nothing to be entirely good or entirely bad goes so deep that it is hard to see how it could be given over for the less realistic European penchant for concepts phrased in terms of blacks and whites". (42, p. 253).^a

Importance of the Dead

The preoccupation of lower-class Jamaicans with death and the dead is impressive, and the complex of death beliefs and rites shows how Protestantism and the West African ancestral cult (42, p. 197), have been syncretized in Jamaica. In Dahomey there are partial and definitive burials, a wake after the definitive burial, a mourning period of three months, and the feeding of the familial gods at ritually stated times (39, I, ch. 19-20)^b; the folk of Jamaica observe a "setup" (wake), a funeral, and, if possible, a "nine-night" service, a "forty days" mourning "table",^c and a "memorial table"

^aConcerning the *vodun* gods of northern Haiti, the present writer stated "The peasantry near Plaisance believes that most of the *loas* are both good and bad, that is, they alternate assistance to their followers with persecution of them..." (77, p. 48).

^bHerskovits quotes a sib-head as saying that in a certain case the partial burial would be held in three days and the final burial in eleven days. The wake and the mourning period are described in 39, I, chap. 21; the feeding of the familial gods, on p. 209.

^cIn the section on death rites in the chapter on "Religious and Magical Rituals in West Kingston Revivalism" we have indicated the preparations which are made by some lower-class Jamaicans prior to the funeral. Concerning such items in Toco, Trinidad, Prof. and Mrs. Herskovits write: "In the funeral rituals details of African practice can be seen to have been interwoven with the canons of Christian burials to make up the body of Toco mortuary custom. To wash a corpse is common practice in human society, but the 'plugging' of the body orifices, the tying of the chin with white cotton lest the mouth open, the fact that the eyes must be closed else 'he's looking back for somebody,' the care that is taken to see that no one obtains any of the body fluids with which to work evil magic, and the placing of whips with the body of a man suspected of having been done to death, are all specifically African... the passing of a child over the coffin three times is also directly from Africa... Placing of lodge regalia, of membership cards, baptismal certificates, and other honorific documents in the coffin is also a reinterpretation of African custom" (46, p. 300). While some of the elements found at Toco were not observed or reported to the writer in West Kingston, i.e., pouring water about the house and in front of the coffin, and the *bongo* dance, the other aspects listed for Toco are found at one or another of the death rites. "Wakes... are common over the world, but many aspects of the Toco wake, especially the dances and those elements of the rites not generally witnessed, stem from Africa. These include addressing the dead with candor, as though he were present, pouring water about the house, and in front of the coffin, the *bongo* dance and the story-telling and game-playing sessions and, at the 'forty-days', the offerings for the other ancestral dead of the family. The mock quarrel between chairman and assistant has its parallels in African custom, where the goal is to amuse the dead at his last visits among the living. The 'heart-felts', in their competitive aspects, also resemble the manner in which sons and sons-in-law of the dead in Africa compete with eulogies of the departed" (46, p. 301).

at the end of one year, or every year, after a family member's death.*

The persistence of the multiple soul concept of West Africa is seen in Jamaica in the shadow (duppy) which each person has in addition to a soul.

The belief that a West Kingston practitioner can summon and use the spirit of a dead person is an interesting reinterpretation of the African belief that a magician may use a captured soul as his "messenger" (46, p. 313).

In Ashanti, Rattray noted the great danger of the widows between the time of their husband's death and his burial. It is thought "that should the *sunsum* or spirit of the dead man return and have sexual intercourse with them, they will ever after be barren" (72, p. 171). Among lower-class Jamaicans, the "wives" of a dead man fear his return and take precautions to prevent this misfortune. All of the "wives" are supposed to attend all of a man's death rituals. The dead man must be "sent away" so well that he will not come back to disturb the living, and especially his "wives".

The Stones

In the chapter dealing with the belief system of Jamaican revivalism we point out that certain kinds of stones are believed to be "high mysteries" and that these stones are found in the homes, yards, and churches of most revivalist leaders. Some are used in religious services; the same or other stones are utilized in healing and other magical procedures. Bascom states that the Yoruba (Nigeria) word *iproni* refers to "the material object which represents the power of a deity and to which its sacrifices are actually presented"; the Yoruba word for an ordinary stone is *okuta* (4, p. 67). In the Cuban *santeria* cult the concept of the stones (*piedras*) is equivalent to the Yoruba *iproni*, and the "real power of the *santos* (African deities) resides in the stones." One of the ingredients for instituting a new shrine to the gods in Dahomey is "one of the thunder stones belonging to the [Thunder] pantheon member with whom the temple is to be identified." This stone is put into a small covered pot and pepper is put with it (45, p. 37). Rattray's references to the ritual use of stones in Ashanti (Gold Coast) are of interest.

Beyond the mouth of the cave was a large boulder, upon which was piled a small heap of stones, on the top of which were the shells of two eggs. This boulder is known as *bokoro* (the one stone), and also as 'the king's stool'. The priest told me these stones were used for placing under and propping up Ta Kora, when his shrine was brought here and set upon the rock. On the right of this boulder (facing the cave) was another but smaller rock, which I was told was a shrine of Amoa. . . . Just outside the cave rose a great wall of rock about 60 feet high, upon which the high-priest was presently to throw an egg. This rock 'is the eating place of all the gods in Ashanti when they come to this place.'

. . . . The chief priest, taking an egg in his hand and standing beside the little cairn of stones, now spoke as follows: 'King from *within* (emphasis mine) today is the great sacred Friday. . . . He then took the egg, allowing the white and yolk to fall upon the cairn, and placed the empty shell upon the top of one of the stones (71, p. 190).

*There are similar rites for the dead in other parts of the New World, e.g., Brazil, Trinidad, and Haiti. In the *vodun* cult of Haiti, Harold Courlander says: "... the spirits of the dead must forever be coped with. This view of the dead is essentially that held in many parts of West Africa . . . Rites for the dead continue endlessly for the living . . . For those who are a part of *Vodoun*, the cycle is a perpetual one in an endless system of integration and continuity" (19, ch. 8).

Polished stone celts (thunder stones) are used religiously and magically in the Haitian *vodun* cult, (17, p. 27; 40, p. 155; 85, pp. 238, 243)^a and, in Port Alegre, Brazil, the most sacred object on any *pará* altar is the stone dedicated to the god. (44, p. 499).^b A curing stone, a blue-veined stone with a cross in the centre, is reported from Toco, Trinidad, (46, p. 227) and *itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xango are thought to be efficacious in all cases of illness in Bahia, Brazil (67, p. 254).^c

One revivalist leader, during a private conversation on the stones, asserted that stones are mentioned in the Bible. Attributed to St. Matthew were (a) the stone rejected by the builder shall become the headstone of the building (Matthew 21:42) and (b) think not that you have Abraham as your father for God is able through these stones to "rise up" children. To St. John he attributed the saying that if these [people] hold their peace then the stone will cry out [about the Judgment]. He added: "If people do not praise God, then the stone will rise up to praise Him—a terrible thing." He quotes these passages to his followers as warnings. Another leader who had discussed the use of stones in revivalism, but who had not cited Biblical passages to explain or justify the stones, was asked if he recalled any verses which mention stones. In reply this man cited (a) Psalms 118:22—"The stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner", (b) Peter's alleged saying that upon this rock I build my church and the gates of Hell shall not prevail (1 Peter 2:4-8 refers to building a spiritual house with Christ as the chief corner stone and with... "Ye also, as lively stones..."); and (c) Jacob's pillow. Neither of these men nor any other revivalists mentioned the passages in Joshua 4 (twelve stones to commemorate the passing over Jordan on dry land), Joshua 8:29 (heap of stones raised on the body of the King of A-i, Joshua 8:31 (an altar of whole stones), Joshua 10:27 (great stones laid in the cave's mouth), or any other Biblical passage containing a reference to stones (except when asked, as above). It is clear that the meanings associated with the use of stones in revivalism are not derived from Christian teachings. It is equally clear that

^aCourlander writes: "Loa also live in the old Carib and Arawak celts which are found from time to time. These 'loa stones'... are identified by their forms and their ability to 'whistle', to perspire when blown upon, and to have the power to 'talk'.... The loa stones are sometimes called 'thunder stones,' and it is believed they were hurled to earth by the deities Sobo and Chango (both of whom had similar functions among the Arada and Yoruba peoples of West Africa). The stones are cared for by their owners with the greatest reverence." (19, ch. 5, pp. 4-5). Two recent discussions of thunder stones are to be found in (18) and (52).

^bHerskovits says: "Here, as elsewhere, the stone is the seat of power, the sacred object to which the spirit comes."

^cPierson writes: "*Itás* . . . or, as they are also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *bracas* (2.2 metres) and to have returned to the surface after seven years. . . . The *itá* is used by the *pae do santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants, which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation to Nago, known as *etutu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power."

the values underlying the use of stones in revivalism are derived from African traditions and that they have been reinterpreted in Jamaica, as in other parts of the New World where people of African descent reside. Bascom has come to a similar conclusion concerning the stones in Cuban *santeria*. He puts the matter in this way: "One might perhaps find parallels to these three elements in the consecrated stone (*el ara*) in the Catholic altar, in the blood of Christ as symbolized in the Eucharist, and in the burned palm leaves on Ash Wednesday. The differences, however, are so marked that one may say that the blood, the stones, and the herbs as they are employed in *santeria* are foreign to Catholicism" (4, p. 66).

Blood

The role of blood sacrifices in African religion is well known (4, p. 67), and there are references in the Bible to the ritual use of blood (Exodus 24: 5-8, for example, reports that Moses sprinkled blood on the altar and on the people). Despite the existence of these two parallel traditions, blood has nothing like the importance in Jamaican revivalism, at least not in West Kingston, that it has in Cuban *santeria* and Haitian *vodun*. In the chapter on the belief system we have indicated that: one leader sprinkles goat's blood on the ground and on healing stones during his annual "sacrifice" service; blood is used in a special kind of "uplifting" ceremony; it is not uncommon for blood to be employed in private healing rites.

The Leaves

Bascom has pointed out that the use of herbs in African magic is widely recognized, but that the use of herbs in the worship of the African deities is less well documented. In Dahomey three hundred and seventy-six different kinds of leaves are used for the making of a *vodu* and leaves are of great importance in the *vodu* cult.^a The herbs, used in cleansing the stones, are highly important in Cuban *santeria* (4, p. 67).^b Bascom suggests that perhaps the blood, the stones, and the herbs are more important in *santeria* than in African rites. One possibility, according to Bascom, is that in Cuba special emphasis has been placed on the distinctive aspects of African religion which set *santeria* apart from Catholic rituals. If this hypothesis were substantiated, acculturation, in the case of the blood, the herbs, and the stones, would not have produced the merging which is found in connection with certain African and Christian beliefs, but an increased importance in the New World on traits which have been regarded by ethnologists as secondary in Africa. The leaves (herbs) are much in evidence on revivalist

^aHerskovits quotes a Dahomean phrase: "If you knew the story of all the leaves of the forest, you would know all there is to be known about the gods of Dahomey" (39, II, p. 195). In December, 1954, Professor Herskovits told the writer that "the leaves are too sacred to be talked about." There are several references to leaves as ingredients for the making of a *Vodu* shrine (45, p. 37).

^bAn interesting work on the use of herbs is by Lydia Cabrera (12).

"tables" and altars during services and at all other times, and frequently the remedies prescribed for illnesses and other misfortunes are "bush teas" or "bush baths".

Apparently the blood, the stones, and the herbs are not as central in Western Kingston revivalism as they are in Cuban *santería*. The focal points of the revivalist cults seem to be fundamentalist theology, extraordinary concern about the "spirits" (including the dead), "spiritual" dancing, spirit possession, prayers, singing and drumming.

Water

Water is a major ritual element in West African religions. River cults are important in this area and priests of the river cults are among the most powerful members of tribal priestly groups. Visits to the river or the ocean to obtain sacred water are parts of ceremonies among the Yoruba, the Ashanti, and in Dahomey. Among the Ashanti, visits to sacred bodies of water occasion possession and cause a devotee to throw himself into the water (42, p. 232). Although lower-class Jamaicans believe in the "river maids", they are not important figures in revivalist cult beliefs. The water rituals of Jamaican revivalists, like those of the shouting Negro Baptists in the United States, are those of baptism. Preparations for baptismal ceremonies, and the baptisms themselves, are high points in all West Kingston revivalist calendars. It has been pointed out that Baptist churches, partly because of their emphasis on baptism by total immersion, appealed strongly to transplanted Africans.

In the New World, where the aggressive proselytizing activities of Protestantism made the retention of the inner forms of African religion as difficult as its outer manifestations, the most logical adaptation for the slaves to make to the new situation, and the simplest, was to give their adherence to that Christian sect which in its ritualism most resembled the types of worship known to them. . . . the Baptist churches had an autonomous organization that was in line with the tradition of local self-direction congenial to African practice. In these churches the slaves were also permitted less restrained behaviour than in the more sedate denominations. And such factors only tended to reinforce an initial predisposition of these Africans toward a cult which, in emphasizing baptism by total immersion, made possible the worship of the new supernatural powers in ways that at least contained elements not entirely unfamiliar (42, p. 233).^a

Negro Baptists in the United States do not run into the water under possession by African gods, but as the novice is immersed "the spirit

^aSundkler makes this interesting observation concerning Zionist practices among the Zulus of South Africa: "Herskovits refers only to West African material. River cults are known, however, throughout Bantu Africa, from the Cape to the Sahara indeed", as Willoughby asserts (*Nature-Worship and Taboo*, p. 2). It is the thesis of this section on 'Worship in Bethesda' [the pool or stream near his kraal is related by the Zulu prophet to the healing Bethesda pool described in St. John, 5:2-9] that the propensity of the Zulu Zionist to total immersion is intimately linked up with traditional Zulu ritual practices in streams and pools. These tendencies have been strengthened by the Biblical teaching of the Zionist churches on baptism. Zionist baptismal practices do, in fact, show the confluence of different streams of myth and rite, heathen and Biblical. The Zulu Jordan is, as it were, the River of Life which like an artesian well springs to the surface in the various purification rites of the Zionist Church' (88, p. 201).

descends on him at that moment if at all, and a possession hysteria develops that in its outward appearance, at least, is almost indistinguishable from the possession brought on by the African water deities" (42, p. 234). Exactly the same thing is true in Jamaican revivalist baptisms.

Herskovits states: "The importance of the Biblical concept of 'crossing the river Jordan' in the religious imagery of the Negroes, and as a symbol of what comes after death, is a further part of this complex. For, like baptism, the river Jordan embodies a concept in Christianity that any African would find readily understandable. In the transmutation of belief and behavior under acculturation, it furnished one of the least difficult transitions to a new form of belief" (42, p. 234).

Vessels filled with the water sacred to the spirit of a shrine stand before the *pará* altar in Porto Alegre, Brazil (44, p. 499) and vessels of assorted shapes and sizes filled with "consecrated" water, and often pools of water, are very much in evidence in West Kingston revivalist churches. As we have noted earlier, a glass of water is used in the nine-night ceremony, and in other services, to attract one or more of the spirits. The spirit of the dead person, or another kind of spirit, if that is appropriate, supposedly enters the glass of water. There is much similarity between this procedure and some reported by Harold Courlander for Haitian *vodun*.^a

One revivalist leader reported that at the dedication of a new church water is sprinkled at the four corners of the building. The present writer has seen water sprinkled on the floor (often this is the ground) during ordinary revivalist services, and one leader said that on days when there is no service she reads Psalms and sprinkles the church with consecrated water to "keep it good." Some of the sprinkling of sacred water during a revivalist service may be derived from the Catholic Asperges, some of it

^aThe *loa* (vodun deities) live "under the water". In a letter to the writer on November 27, 1954, Courlander said: "The *loa* return to their domain via any 'water road', and this is the route they usually take when coming into the *houngan* [temple]. The 'water road' is the short cut and the easiest path for them to follow. Often in ceremonies when the *loa* are being invited in, the *houngan* [priest] spills a trail of water on the ground from the gate to the centerpole of the *tonnelle* [thatched shelter]. He may do this also in the four main directions. The water is used to help a *loa* leave one's head, as well. The possessed person spills a water 'libation', but this is not a libation in the usual sense, making it possible for the *loa* to leave more easily." Courlander adds: "Often a glass of water is held up invitingly when the *loa* are being called on to enter . . . when a *houngan* prepares for a special service he may place a glass of water at the '*bayè*' as an 'invitation' to the *loa*. Sometimes there are three glasses—one at the gate, one halfway, and one at the centerpole. Sometimes water is spilled at the points instead of setting up glasses." He states also that sometimes "water is spilled to 'give the *loa* a drink', to 'refresh' them, and it's not always evident which is which. Other things are also spilled for drinking, such as rum, but water is always used for the '*chimin dleau*.'"

At the "forty days" ritual in Toco, Trinidad, some of the older relatives walk around the outside of the house pouring water from glasses and saying: "We pourin' this for you to make the path clear. We know you with us tonight. We doin' this for you" (46, p. 151). According to Moore, the first portion of the trumping in Morant Bay, Jamaica revival cults is to bring the Holy Spirit down the centre pole and into the glass of water on the altar. He says that the spirits "come down the center pole into the water in the pail under the altar and then go into the bodies of the faithful members of the band" (63).

may be reinterpretation of African water rites,^a or, possibly, the two traditions reinforce each other at this point.

Water is relied upon in the magical rites related to Jamaican revivalism. The role of water in exorcising evil spirits has been referred to in the discussion of magical rites, and we have mentioned both drinking and bathing in consecrated water as healing techniques. Water is employed also in divining, duppy-catching, and in gaining favours from the "river maids". All of these procedures seem to represent reinterpretations of African beliefs in the power of sacred water and the concept of "spirits-in-the-water."

Swords

Rattray was informed by an Ashanti priest that a certain sword "was for his particular god to cut a path with when the king went to war" (72, p. 16). Swords and machetes are used ritually by the devotees of some of the Haitian *vodun* gods. Swords and machetes, usually made of wood, are often used in Jamaican revivalist ceremonies to "cut and clear" (remove) evil spirits, and frequently a pair of scissors hangs from the belt of a female revivalist officer. These cutting weapons may or may not represent retentions. Swords are symbols of power and authority in many places, but the Haitian and Jamaican cult swords are by no means passive symbols. Imitations or real weapons, the swords are swung vigorously, and the expression of "cutting and clearing" is strikingly like the one heard by Rattray in the Gold Coast.^b

^aRattray writes: "It was now Monday morning, the 31st October (1921). Soon after mid-day the ceremony was continued. All the shrines of the gods were brought out, covered with their silk handkerchiefs. The most important were under umbrellas. Headed by an old woman carrying a pot of water and a man and woman carrying bundles of yam, escorted by six men carrying flintlock guns and by *fontomfrom* drums and a great concourse of people, all set off for the Asasebon River. A man walked beside the shrine of Konkroma and fanned it. The chief priestess was borne on a man's shoulders. Before reaching the waterside the drummers halted under a silk-cotton tree while the procession passed on. On arrival at the water the shrines were set down on the bank, each on its own stool. Water was drawn from the river in a brass basin, and this was mixed with the water brought in the pot... The linguist of Konkroma, taking a cow-tail in his hand dipped it into the pan of water, and spoke as follows: 'Amo Kotoku, that which we have done we have done, the edge of the year has come round, and we are sprinkling you with water that you may eat yams. Life to the people of Adwira, life to the chief of Adwira. Kojo Brenya, Akua Adai, Kwesi Fo, and chief Kojo Brenya have brought you yams, a sheep, wine, and salt, saying partake of yams. Life for Kojo Brenya, Akua Adai, Kofi Twinto, Ama Tiwa, Kwesi Fo. Life to Osai Bonsu and to his elders; the sprinkling of water! the sprinkling of water!' As he said this he sprinkled each shrine with water... All the carriers of the shrines seemed under the influence of their particular spirit. They quivered and shook, and their eyes seemed fixed as if unseeing, and they swayed about" (71, p. 209).

^bAn Ashanti *suman* (charm) pictured and described by Rattray is full of interesting points for the Afro-Americanist. This charm, a priest's headgear, had a foundation of woven grass matting. "At the front and back were ram's horns. At the front and between the horns was a wooden *afona* (sword), at the back a *sepow* knife. On the outside of the horns, on each side, were small knives representing the implements used by executioners to cut off heads. Inside the horns, the priest told me, were leaves of the tree known as *Asase no obuo* (literally, earth and rocks), and also pebbles taken from cross-roads, or from the entrance to a village or town, because 'at these spots any stranger coming to do me harm, will halt and ask the way to my house'. The horns mean 'I shall butt you', the knives, 'I shall cut off your head'... (72, p. 16). For the New World the important words are: sword, knife, leaves, pebbles, crossroads, and stranger (evil spirit).

Snakes

The provenience of West Kingston beliefs about snakes cannot be traced with precision, but they seem to be due, in part at least, to the persistence of old African traditions. The serpent is a major figure among supernatural beings in West Africa and in parts of the New World, especially Haiti and Dutch Guiana (42, p. 230). One of the personal deities in Dahomey is Dā. According to Herskovits, "... Dā is an abstraction, used to designate anything sinuous, which moves silently, undulates, and cannot be controlled. It is the principle of movement, of energy, of life itself, and, by extension, of fortune. Often spoken of as a serpent, Dā is nevertheless but the principle of mobility. If not cared for, it will weaken, be preyed upon by others of its kind, and a man's fortune will disappear (40, p. 31).

Jamaican revivalists fear snakes, as well as lizards and frogs, because they believe that they may be duppies in disguise.^a It is thought that snakes suck blood, "trouble" food, and cause consumption. When a big snake is seen in a field, the assumption is that someone put it there to kill a human being. (There are no poisonous snakes in Jamaica). If a seer is consulted, the person who saw the snake usually will be told that burning a mixture of sulphur, frankincense and myrrh will drive it away.

One West Kingston informant said that "because of Moses and the serpent [Exodus 4:3-4 and 7:9-10] in the wilderness, we may draw the figure of a serpent and use it, mainly in healing. It is drawn in gold paint on a board that is painted black and is hung up like a sacred picture." This leader concentrates on the snake's picture, "thinking directly of what Moses did through the serpent in the wilderness, and repeats these words: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so shall the son of man be lifted up." One of the de Laurence books has a full-page illustration called "Symbol of the Crowned Serpent with its Magical Hieroglyphics", as well as an alleged Hebrew talisman labelled "Moses Changes the Staff Into a Serpent" (26, p. 98) and one suspects that this work was the immediate source of inspiration for the procedure just described. Another revivalist referred to the serpent as the creature that created sin.

Beliefs about snakes among lower-class Jamaicans may stem from both African and Biblical sources, but in so far as the beliefs pertain to duppies, the Jamaican beliefs are closer to West African supernaturalism than to the symbol for temptation or to conjuring equipment.

The Cross Roads

Another retention of some importance in Jamaican folk belief is the cross-roads. Legba in Dahomey (Elegbara among the Yoruba) is the guardian of entrances to villages, households, and sacred shrines (42, p. 237).^b Among

^aPeasants in northern Haiti show great fear of snakes (there are no poisonous snakes in Haiti), believing that they may be *loas* in disguise. (Field notes of G. E. Simpson).

^bIn Haiti, Trinidad, and Dutch Guiana, Legba (or Lebba) is the guardian of the cross-roads. In northern Haiti, Legba must be the first *loa* to arrive at a *vodun* ceremony, and he lets down the barriers so that other *loa* may come.

the Jamaican lower class, as in similar groups in other West Indian Negro populations (and in the United States), the cross-roads is the favourite place for magical operations.

Witches

Witches and vampires are known in Africa as in Europe (42, p. 258), and the problem becomes one of specifying the African aspects of these beings. The same methods of discovering, holding, and punishing witches and vampires are found in Nigeria, Dahomey, among the Ashanti, and in Jamaica, Haiti, Dutch Guiana, Barbados, and Trinidad. Sprinkling red pepper in the discarded skin of a witch while the witch is going about the countryside performing evil deeds is a technique of witch-killing common to West Africa, many southern states in the United States, the Sea Islands, the Bahamas, and Haiti.

Throwing Spirit Food

Pouring liquor and tossing morsels of food on the ground for the spirits is a West African custom which is found in one form or another in the New World in Haiti, Dutch Guiana, Trinidad (42, p. 236), as well as in Jamaica.

Possession

Possession by a spirit who comes to the head of the devotee is the "supreme expression" of the religious experience of African and New World Negroes. Marked similarities in (a) methods used to induce possession, (b) motor behaviour during possession, and (c) ways of controlling possessed persons are found in West Africa, Haiti, Brazil, Trinidad, and Jamaica. Herskovits mentions "a given rhythm of the drum, the sound of a rattle, singing and hand-clapping of a chorus" as almost invariably essential to possession (42, p. 215). Pierson adds fasting, the odours of sacred herbs, fatigue, heat, the expectation of the group, and a sudden, loud noise (67, p. 286). All of these stimulants to possession are found in West Kingston with two exceptions: the loud noise and the sacred herb odours. However, a leader may burn incense, or he may sprinkle perfume on his robe and on the clothing of some of his main followers in an effort to attract the spirits. In addition, as has been indicated earlier, Jamaican revivalists over-breathe in their efforts to get "in the spirit". The behavioural aspects of the "hysteria-like trances" are essentially the same in West Africa and in the New World: spasmodic muscular movements, especially of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles; excited running about or rolling on the ground; muttering of unintelligible syllables; and periods of body rigidity. Methods of control vary more than the other aspects of possession, but in all of the areas mentioned solicitous attendants work to prevent the possessed person from injuring himself or others. Also, the drumming should be toned down and gradually brought to an end as the person comes out of the spirit; stopping the drumming abruptly may bring on stomach cramps or other ill effects (46, p. 309).

In Brazil, both in Bahia and in Port Alegre, and at times in Trinidad, "a person coming out of possession goes through a transitional stage wherein he is 'in a state of *eré*.' That is, he does not at once recover his 'self'. The deity is envisaged as having withdrawn from 'his head' but is replaced by that attribute of the god which is his messenger, and his childhood state . . . Some of them caricature the choreography of the ritual dancing for the gods, some feed the drummers . . . some sing children's songs or play children's games or engage in mischievous pranks. An exceptional one may be morose, or amorous, or quarrelsome" (38, p. 9). The present writer did not observe post-possession behaviour of these types and does not know whether they exist in Jamaica. In discussing the belief system of Jamaican revivalism, it was mentioned that some first possessions last intermittently for hours, for days, or, it is claimed in extreme cases, for months. As Herskovits points out, further research on post-possession experience is called for, both in Africa and in the New World (38, p. 9).

Drums

Singing and (spiritual) dancing in Jamaican revivalist groups are accompanied by the instruments which are most important in West Africa, that is, drums and rattles. To these another percussion instrument, the tambourine, is often added. There are variations in musical forms in the cult groups of Trinidad, but, as Herskovits says, "despite the influence of European musical style, there is, on the whole, more of Africa than of Europe in this music. Some of these African characteristics are the emphasis on rhythm, the tendency in rhythmic accompaniment of the melodic line to introduce and maintain polyrhythms, the antiphony between leader and chorus in singing, and the employment of intervals characteristic of African music" (46, p. 316). No analysis has been made of the use of intervals in the music which was tape recorded in West Kingston, but the emphasis on rhythm, the tendency to introduce polyrhythms, and the antiphony between leader and chorus in singing are ubiquitous. The swaying of the body, handclapping with cupped hands rather than with flattened palms, and other motor behaviour while singing, are African and may be observed in Trinidad, Haiti, and Jamaica (19, 46).^a Often in West Kingston, the shoes of a possessed person, especially of a woman, are removed. Herskovits, who has observed this practice elsewhere in the New World, remarks: "Shoes are removed because of Biblical precept; quite unrealized by those who practice this custom, it is also in accordance with the African canons of good form in dancing" (42, p. 223). Moving about the dancing circle in a counter-clockwise direction is characteristic of West Africa (42, p. 216).

^aCourlander writes: "The chorus and leader sing responsively, their parts overlapping in traditional African style. The shoulder movements, foot movements, the way the arms are carried, the typical posture of feet flat on the ground, bent knees, and swayed back are all of African derivation." Of an Ashanti dance he witnessed, Rattray wrote: "The priestess began to dance that curious shuffling, stooping, mincing dance alternated with wild gyrations, so peculiar to West Africa. She was accompanied by rattles, drums, and singing. . . As she danced, the spirit of Ta Amoa came upon her, and she spoke. . ." (71, p. 209).

Magic

Magic is of great importance in West Africa. In that area the magic charm and sympathetic magic are very prominent, and this is true in a number of places in the New World, including Jamaica.^a Detailed descriptions of more than forty charms in Dahomey are known, and Rattray has provided material on the *suman* (fetishes or charms) in Ashanti (39, pp. 263 ff; 72, pp. 23, 147). Revelation in giving remedies, important among Jamaican revivalists, is a fundamental West African belief (42, p. 241). In Dahomey, the *azizan*, or forest spirits, or a god (Legba) give qualified persons the information necessary for healing. Dependence of the practitioners of magic upon the spirits of the dead is "purely African" (42, p. 242). We have referred earlier to the reliance of some West Kingston practitioners upon "messages" from the dead. In previous chapters, the use of herbs in Jamaican magic was mentioned. Bascom states that the place of herbs in African magic is widely recognized (4, p. 67), and Rattray discusses the persons in Ashanti who work with leaves, roots, and plants (72, p. 147). The interpretation of dreams in divining future events, common in West Africa as well as in European tradition (3, p. 49) is found in many places in the New World, including Jamaica.

Jamaican, like other West Indian magic, represents a combination of the folk traditions of West Africa and Europe. The best example of this amalgamation is seen in the way the importance of the charm has been reinforced by both traditions. The de Laurence books of magic have been popular in the West Indies because they have fitted into the world view of many lower-class persons.

Herskovits concludes that there is a tendency "in all the New World, for the suppression of African religious forms to be accompanied by a compensating increase in the employment of such less public controls of the supernatural forces as magic. Whether, under pressure of European domination, African religion goes underground, and manifests itself in an increase of magic (especially black magic), is a challenging acculturation problem" (38, p. 10).

^aCurtin makes an interesting point concerning the reinforcement of the African heritage through the ticket-and-leader system of both the Native Baptists and the European Baptists. "... the Native Baptist Movement, which was originally an accommodation of Christianity to the African heritage, was reincorporated in the official Baptist Church through the ticket-and-leader system. In allowing this, the European Baptists were themselves moving toward the Afro-Christian synthesis, and they were doing so in ways they hardly understood themselves. The ticket, for example, was closer to the African heritage than the ministers realized—closer, at least, than they would admit. The planters' accusation that missionaries were selling 'passports to heaven' was not far from the truth. To the illiterate African the ticket was a fetish—a white man's fetish, and therefore a fetish of superior power. It was the Christian equivalent of the fetishes carried by Negroes in the Gambia region of West Africa, where even among non-Moslem Negroes a few words from the Koran on a scrap of paper were credited with special powers. The Baptist ticket in Jamaica was similar: it bore the member's name, the signature of the parson, and was inscribed around the edge with mottos like "Pray for your Children" and "Pray for the Grace to live near God" (24, p. 37).

Family life

The impermanence of conjugal life among lower-class persons in Jamaica is well known (14, p. xlv). In discussing the belief system of Jamaican revivalism, it was pointed out that some revivalist leaders justify taking one common-law spouse, if conditions necessitate this arrangement, but that they condemn "careless" living, that is, having more than one partner at one time. Under slavery, the nucleus of African kinship structures, i.e., "the individual woman's hut in the West African compound, where she and her children live, and which she leaves periodically to go, in her turn, to the hut of the man she shares with her co-wives, for her allotted time with him," became a prominent feature of New World Negro social organization. The reinterpretation of this characteristic of African social life was far-reaching; the family unit "came to be dominated by the mother or grandmother, and included her children and the man with whom, at a given period of time, she was living" (38, p. 4).

Curtin also traces the manner in which African traditions and plantation life were merged in Afro-Jamaican "marriage."

One example of the adaptation of the African cultures to Jamaican life was the Negro equivalent of marriage. The planters had little interest in the sexual *mores* of the slaves. The slaves made whatever sexual union they chose and these were usually more permanent than simple promiscuity. The Jamaican Negro normally had a "wife," perhaps more than one. This family made a social unit that had nothing to do with the blessing of the established church. In the management of the slave's private provision ground, the wife had charge of certain matters, especially marketing. She cooked the meals for the head of the family, waited on him, and ate by herself. While the Jamaican woman would accept this situation with its heavy responsibilities and lack of legal permanence, she was unwilling to accept Christian marriage. By the time the missionaries arrived on the scene, Afro-Jamaican "marriage" was too well established to be easily changed. Jamaican women tended to consider Christian marriage a mark of subordination and slavery to the male. In the long run, this turned out to be one of the most deep-seated of Jamaican Negro attitudes (24, p. 25).

The Established Church was "especially strict in respect to marriage and discouraged the baptism of illegitimate children. This meant, in practice, that at least 70 per cent of the population was barred from the Church. In spite of decades of missionary training, Jamaicans (in the 1860's) would not get married. Young women still felt that marriage was a form of slavery, and there was no public opinion condemning concubinage". (24, p. 169).

Supernatural sanctions derived from the ancestral cult constitute one aspect of the African patterns of plural marriage. A reinterpretation of this tradition is found in Jamaica in the supernatural sanctions of common-law marriage, i.e., in the way the 'wives' and the children regard a man's spirit after his death.^a Although it is customary in Toco, Trinidad, for a woman

^aA friend has asked how much the belief that all of a man's wives and all of his children are expected to attend all of his death rites means in family life. The writer cannot answer this question because he did not make a detailed study of family life in West Kingston. However, this belief was stated independently, in one form or another, by a number of informants. Reported also were a number of incidents where trouble had arisen because a woman had tried to prevent one or more other women from coming to a nine-night or other death ritual given for a man. The writer concludes that the definition of "fornication," which, in effect, justifies common-law marriage with one conjugal partner at a time, is quite important in lower class family life.

to follow the West African tradition of consulting a diviner at the time of her first pregnancy, or when she has experienced miscarriages, or her previous children have died, these practices are not fully retained in West Kingston. Under certain conditions, a woman does consult her spiritual adviser in connection with pregnancy, miscarriage, and abortion. In West Kingston, as in Trinidad, the West African belief that an infant left alone must have magical or supernatural protection has been reinterpreted in the practice of leaving an open Bible beside a baby if a mother's absence is unavoidable.

The Value of Acculturation Studies

Studies of acculturation throw light on (a) the processes by means of which cultural changes take place, and (b) the tenacity of custom in the contact situation. The concepts which have been most useful in studying the process of cultural change in the New World are those of retention, re-interpretation, and reintegration. Purity of African retention is the exception rather than the rule. Retentions of African institutions, found in most New World Negro communities, are seen mainly in reinterpreted form. The degree of reinterpretation varies, as indicated above, from region to region, but the most important variations are related to socio-economic status. For those members of a society who have had "full access to the cultural resources of the dominant group, even reinterpreted elements would be idiosyncratic, rarely patterned" (43, p. 145).

Perhaps the most important aspect of this approach to the study of culture change is the possibility of getting beneath outer form to meaning. Our investigation of revivalist religion, magic, healing, and music in West Kingston shows that "the acceptance of new forms does not necessarily preclude the retention of an underlying value-system that derives from an earlier kind of enculturative conditioning." In Jamaican revivalism, as in the "shouting" churches of lower-class Negro society in the United States, "the outer forms of Protestantism . . . take their meaningful place as an overlay on a worldview that holds much of the non-European in its ritual, and more in its theology" (43, p. 146) except that this conclusion applies even more strongly to Jamaica than to the United States. The same is true of two further generalizations: "... such a mode of religious adaptation yields a belief-system wherein the European emphasis on guilt and punishment for guilt have been rejected in favor of African religious affirmations. This same approach helps us see . . . an artificially conceived pathology in social institutions as the reality of an accepted new outer form reinterpreted in terms of the patterns of older social structures" (43, p. 146).

The data from West Kingston, and from the Morant Bay area, like those from Brazil, Haiti, Cuba, and other places in the New World that have been studied indicate the tenacity of African culture.

In demonstrating how cult-adaptations can be made in the face of the most diverse conditions of life, these materials further contravene the assumptions of those students

in the Africanist field, who, in underscoring the presumably ephemeral character of African institutions in the New World, find ground for predictions as to the extinction of these ways of life. Yet African culture, it must be repeated—perhaps all culture—does not give ground as readily as has been supposed. Many variants of African traditions and beliefs already studied in the New World have aided us to understand how custom can adapt itself to new institutions; how the modes of behavior of a people, altered in outer form if necessary, can be retained when they lodge deeply enough in the patterns of a culture. (44, p. 510).

The question of the possibility of the disappearance of such Africanisms, pure or reinterpreted, as are found in Jamaica, and of the revivalist cults themselves, is an interesting one. Jamaican revivalism has none of the nativism, including the Black Christ concept and the reversed colour bar in Heaven, found in the Zulu Zionist churches of South Africa (88, pp. 278-289, 290). Such nativism, combined with verbal aggression, is given expression in Jamaica in the Ras Tafari movement.^a Jamaican revivalism, as pointed out in the previous chapter, is an adjustive-escapist type of activity and its future will depend in part on the changes which occur in the economic, educational, and social conditions of lower-class Jamaicans and on the increase or decrease in appeal of such functional alternatives as the established religious denominations, the American Negro Mission churches of the Apostolic or Pentecostal type, and the Ras Tafari movement.

Jamaican revivalists are not as distinct from the rest of the population as are the *Africanos* of Bahia, Brazil. In past years, the latter wore a distinctive type of dress, but recently there has been a tendency to discard this apparel. In addition to dress, these persons have been actively identified with a number of obviously African culture elements, particularly in the fields of religion and magic. The very fact that Jamaican revivalists are not so conspicuously different from others may be a factor which will help to slow down their disappearance.

✓ Bascom's comments on the likelihood of African religion and culture disappearing in the New World are so cogent that we quote them in full.

African religion and culture in the New World is not confined to remote rural areas or farms which have been untouched by European civilization. Most people might expect this to be so, but actually the exact opposite is true. Not only are African traditions found, but they are actually strongest and purest in the larger urban centers of Cuba and other parts of the West Indies and South America. The men and women who know most about African religion have been attracted to the larger and wealthier cities, where there are more worshippers and more money so that the ceremonies can be carried on properly. This concentration in the largest cities has a simple economic explanation, but for those who are seriously interested in the future of Nigeria, it has a profound lesson.

A recent issue of *The University Herald* of Ibadan contains an essay which was awarded a prize in the Nigerian Festival of Arts, 1950. Its author, Mabel Imoukhuede asks the question 'Can the Old African Culture survive in a Modern World?' and gives 'No' as her answer. Instead, in the light of the lesson of the New World, the answer must be an emphatic 'Yes!' The old African culture not only can, but actually has survived in large Western cities as modern as Havana, in spite of obstacles which do not have to be faced in Nigeria. The Cuban Negroes were forcibly taken against their will to a new continent with different geographical conditions; they spent many years under the unfavorable conditions of slavery; and they have been completely isolated from Africa. . . . (5, p. 19).

^aThis is an anti-white, back-to-Africa movement started in Jamaica about 1930. (See 83, pp. 133-149; 84, pp. 167-170).

Bascom points out further that the number of persons in Cuba who worship the Orishas (Yoruban gods) has increased in recent years.

Not all of the Orisha worshippers are pure Negroes. The black and white races have mixed in Cuba, and many of the mulattoes with some white ancestors have made Orisha. If a Nigerian attended the ceremonies he would see people whom he would think were white men. He might also see Senators and high-ranking officers in the Cuban police and the Cuban army at the important ceremonies of Babaluaiye, Shango, and Ogun. If the number of Orisha worshippers has been decreasing in Nigeria, it has been increasing in Cuba within the last ten years (5, p. 17).

In Bahia, European Brazilians "tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior. They represent, to this element of the Bahian population, another world" (67, p. 270). However, the general tendency is to tolerate these African practices "so long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population (67, p. 271). The Europeans react in somewhat the same way they do toward "the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that 'time and education' will do away with these evidences of what one upper-class individual referred to as 'cultural backwardness and barbarism'" (67, pp. 271, 312). Although there is continuous disapproval of the behaviour of *Africanos*, this behaviour is usually not taken seriously and it is not considered as a cultural threat. Few deliberate attempts are made to stamp it out. Pierson concludes that, "partially for these very reasons, African cultural forms are rapidly disappearing at Bahia" (67, p. 271).

Many middle and upper class Jamaicans are indifferent or hostile to studies of Jamaican folk life. One factor in this opposition is that they, or members of their families, have emerged recently from the mass and some of their relatives are still a part of it. These persons wish not to be identified in any way with people of lower status, even with studies of such people. They try to ignore the mass, ridiculing persons in it as if they were another breed of mankind. Such behaviours bolster their own egos and ward off imagined threats to their own positions. Such persons desire to emphasize "progress" and "modernity," and they regard the study of lower-class life as trivial and degrading. If studies are to be made, they should be studies of the "real" people and of important matters such as income, production, education, government, middle and upper-class "culture," etc. These attitudes are symptoms of the conflicts which go with achieving personal and national status, and these phenomena are not limited to Jamaica. Such attitudes are found in every developing society.*

*Pierson's comments along this line are of interest. He writes: "... of those Bahians identified with the European culture, the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* [Afro-Brazilian fetish cult] than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in class and naturally make every effort to dissociate themselves from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query 'Do you think the *Candomblé* ought to be suppressed?' 22 or one-third, said, 'No'; while of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of five blacks, four said, 'Yes'" (67, p. 313).

Henriques makes the point that in Jamaica emancipation did not result in the re-establishment of African values, but, under the leadership of the coloured class, to the intensified adoption of European values. He does not suggest that present-day Jamaica lacks Africanisms in its culture, but he contends that "the upper and middle classes have succeeded in denigrating things African to such an extent that the individual of whatever class feels that anything African is to be despised." According to Henriques, "even the black lower-class individuals will voice their disapproval of black or 'Naygur' things" (36, p. 169). While Henriques may be correct in this observation in so far as known Africanisms are concerned, the fact is that many lower-class people, and some middle and upper-class persons too, do not recognize what is African in Jamaican culture. Some African elements have been transmitted from generation to generation with little or no realization of their provenience on the part of the folk.

Our point of view is that it is important to get basic facts and interpretations concerning all levels of a society and all aspects of its culture. Neither the scholar nor the actionist can understand what is happening and what may and can happen unless the attitudes, traditions, and customs of all sub-groups are understood as well as possible.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

This study of revivalist cults in West Kingston, Jamaica, has centred in (a) the acculturative process as it is revealed in the Revival Zion-Pocomania-Obeah magico-religious complex, and (b) the sociological and social psychological aspects of cult life as seen in cult organization, attitudes toward the cults and the functions of revivalism. Cult ideas and practices have been related to the other principal phases of West Kingston life. Wherever possible, we have attempted to compare our materials with those now available for Haiti, Brazil, Trinidad, Cuba, the southern United States, and the West Coast of Africa. Our concern has been with basic research rather than with social policy, but some of the data and interpretations presented here may be useful when programmes dealing with immediate problems are under discussion.

As in other parts of the West Indies, migration to the cities continues apace. Many of the Jamaican in-migrants gravitate to West Kingston because they have friends or relatives in the area and living costs are low there. Unemployment and underemployment are high in West Kingston and levels of living are low. Overcrowding, insanitation, inadequate educational and recreational facilities, and a dependency-begging sub-culture are characteristic of most of the area. The great majority of the domestic groups in the sections of West Kingston with which we are concerned are of the varieties which Henriques calls "faithful concubinage", "maternal", and "keeper" rather than of the "Christian family" type. These groups, understandable in the light of the evolution of Afro-Jamaican "marriage," fall far short of the standards of discipline, privacy, affection, behaviour and stability which middle-class persons regard as desirable. Although the lower-class family is weak on the conjugal side, strong bonds of kinship do exist. Among West Kingston's squatters, family life is virtually non-existent.

No serious effort was made to Christianize the slaves for a century after Britain acquired Jamaica from Spain. In 1754, the Missionary Society of the Moravian Church began its work. The Native Baptist movement started in the 1780's and flourished without serious competition for forty years before there was any widespread orthodox teaching. Baptist, Methodist, and Anglican missionaries of the 1830's and 1840's had as rivals, in addition to the semi-Christian cults, the more African myal religion and the increased practice of obeah. According to Curtin, the Christian elements in myalism became stronger in the 40's, but its basic African traits were also retained (24,

p. 170). In 1860 the Afro-Christian cults were stronger than European orthodoxy. The Great Revival of 1861-62, dramatic and exciting in its early stages, soon lost favour with the clergy of orthodox churches because of its excesses and "impurities." During the period 1891-1921, the career of Alexander Bedward, an untutored but magnetic healer, greatly stimulated the revivalist movement.

In the opinion of an outside observer (25, p. 39), Jamaica was over-churched at the middle of the twentieth century, and this conclusion applied only to the orthodox churches. Revivalist church programmes were regarded by Mr. Davis not as a part of the process of evangelizing Jamaica, but as "modern paganism." The leading denominations, as indicated by the church preferences reported in the 1943 Census of Jamaica, are: Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Moravian, and the Church of God. The Census figures on Pocomania appear greatly to underestimate the significance of the Revival Zion-Pocomania-Obeah complex (to some extent, this was realized by the Census officials).

Sociologically, cults should be seen as a part of the whole range of religious organizations, including The Universal Church, The Ecclesia, The Denomination, The Established Sect, The Sect and The Cult. On the basis of the criteria of inclusiveness of membership and the amount of support given to the integration of the society as a whole, cults stand at one end of the continuum. Cults stress the problems of the individual rather than questions of social order, depend upon non-professionalized leadership, and are more likely to die than to be transformed into sects and then into denominations.

No simple distinctions can be made between revivalism as a set of religious beliefs and ceremonies, and obeah, or magical rites, and distinctions between the Revival Zion variety of revivalism and the type known as Pocomania are even harder to draw, at least in the West Kingston area. Usually revivalist leaders maintain that they are not involved in the practice of obeah, but many of these men and women at least occasionally take off (and perhaps put on) duppies (ghosts), cure illnesses, and utilize techniques believed to ensure success in such dangerous situations as court trials.

Jamaican revivalists do not worship old African gods such as Legba, Ogoun, and Damballa, and in this respect they differ from the devotees of *santeria* in Cuba, of *shango* in Trinidad, the *vodunists* of Haiti, and cultists in Bahia and in Porto Alegre, Brazil. However, the revivalist cult is more than tinged with polytheism by virtue of the many "spirits" who take an interest in mortal men. These spirits ("angels," "protectors," "messengers") include, in addition to the dead, Michael, Gabriel, Samuel, Raphael, Jeremiah, Jesus, Mary, Holy Ghost, Matthew, John, Ariel, Tharsis, Constantine, Melshezedek, Satan, and many others. The "spirit" (any one of the many "spirits") possesses some followers, and gives revelations, injures, protects, and assists the faithful.

The multiple soul concept of West Africa has been retained, but reinterpreted, in Jamaica as it has in a number of New World countries. Jamaican revivalists believe that the soul returns to God for judgment, but that a shadow or "duppy" remains behind after death. Duppies, at least those which have not been definitely dismissed at a nine-night or other death rite, may be summoned by the adept for the performance of hazardous or dastardly deeds. Other ritual acts offset the intentions of evil spirits or their manipulators.

The moral code of lower-class Jamaicans, judged by sermons, discussions, and interviews, condemns deceitfulness, lying, stealing, hatred, criticism, thinking evil, fornication, being unjust, coveting a neighbour's goods, placing an evil spirit or spell on a person, etc., but it is clear that there are numerous lapses from the *mores*. "Fornication" here receives a special definition compatible with actual practices in West Kingston, i.e., "living around" with more than one person at one time. In addition to the "sins" just mentioned, there are a number of taboos among revivalists, including the eating of pork, using profanity, going to cemeteries at prohibited times, sexual intercourse during a period of several days before an important religious service, etc. However, ritual means are provided for the riddance of sin.

Dreams and visions are important in revivalism because of the favourable and unfavourable portents which they reveal. These experiences validate the beliefs in the spirits and serve as means of linking men to them. Outstanding visions, and, in some cases, dreams, serve to strengthen the positions and enhance the prestige of cult leaders.

Spirit possession is rather central in revivalism. As in the cults of several New World countries, a revivalist service which fails to produce a number of possessions (visitations of the spirits) would be a complete failure. Such an eventuality is highly unlikely, however, since there are numerous ways of inducing the spirits to appear. In Jamaica, the most frequently used technique for encouraging spirit possession is "labouring in the spirit," a "spiritual dancing" which includes stamping the feet, bending the body forward and straightening up; groaning, and over-breathing.

Special attention was given in this study to the interesting questions raised several years ago by Bascom concerning the roles played by "the stones, the blood, and the herbs" in New World Negro cult practices. These elements constitute the core of the *santeria* cult in Cuba, but they seem not to be the focal points in Jamaican revivalism. Nevertheless, these items, and especially the stones and the leaves, are of considerable importance in the total revivalism-obeah complex. Water is another important element both in religious and magical rites. Glasses of consecrated water are useful in summoning spirits to nearly every type of service, and a pool of water is essential for the immersion of novitiates in the momentous baptismal rites. Water, like the leaves, the stones, and blood, is a crucial ritual item in many kinds of magic.

The most important religious services of Jamaican revivalists are: "divine worship," baptismal rites, "tables," death rites, the dedication of a new church building, and the installation of new officers, especially a new leader. Divine worship services are held every Sunday night, and, frequently on two or three week nights. The main feature of these meetings are drumming, singing, handclapping, praying, Bible reading, sporadic preaching, "labouring in the spirit," spirit possession, testimonials, and healing. The baptismal cycle, a high point in the revivalist calendar, consists of a Saturday night "vowing" ceremony, immersion in the river early Sunday morning, and a Communion service Sunday evening.

A "table" is a combined religious service and feast. Tables may be classified as: thanksgiving, uplifting, memorial, money-raising, annual "sacrifice," and "destruction." Thanksgiving tables are given to signalize some kind of good fortune: recovery from illness, release from jail, victory in court, the end of a family quarrel, etc. Money-raising tables provide funds for baptismal or other elaborate ceremonies, new equipment, etc. An uplifting table seeks to deliver someone from evil spirits, or it celebrates the release from the spirit of a new convert who has been "on the ground" (unconscious) for some time.

The preoccupation of lower-class Jamaicans with the dead is reflected in the elaborateness of the death rites. Full observance of the ceremonies marking a prominent person's death would include a wake, the funeral, a rite on the ninth night after death, a "forty days" ritual, and one or more annual memorial services. The spirit of the dead person is discharged on the ninth night and is told not to return again. In West Kingston, the "forty days" service is given only for a dead leader, the main purpose being to obtain a revelation from the leader's spirit concerning the leader's successor. Memorial services are held to honour the dead person for the purpose of receiving a message from his spirit. In addition to these ceremonies for particular individuals, some revivalist groups hold an annual "sacrifice" service for all the dead.

Healing, a profitable activity, is practiced in West Kingston by individual operators known as obeah-men and by many Pocomania and Revival Zion leaders. The former practice privately, the latter heal both publicly and secretly. Lower-class Jamaicans believe that sickness is due either to germs or to displeased spirits, both spiritual beings and the dead. Healers attempt to cure all types of illness from colds and fevers to paralysis, tuberculosis, and "madness." Some residents of this area never consult non-medical practitioners, others go to a healer only when they think that the spirits are responsible for a disease, and some patients are treated alternatively or simultaneously by physicians, revivalist healers, and obeah men.

Most of the formulas used by revivalist healers and obeah men have no proven empirical value, but not all of the treatments are worthless or harmful. Confidence and trust in a persuasive practitioner are important factors in the treatment of some kinds of emotional disturbance, and the constant

efforts, friendship, and good wishes of the healer, relatives, friends, and co-believers may be crucial elements in a patient's recovery. Unquestionably some who are treated by these operators are injured more than they are helped, but such results are explainable and, under present conditions, insufficient to undermine the theory of illness.

Jamaican conjuring (the practice of obeah) includes sympathetic and contagious magic, "putting on" and "taking off" duppies (ghosts), and utilizing evil spirits. Conjuring is closely related to both divination and healing, and is undertaken by Pocomania and revivalist leaders as well as by obeah men and women.

Experts in conjuring claim that they can summon the spirits of dead persons, or at least of certain dead persons, and use them for any kind of "work." At "destruction tables," obeah men call for possessions by the Devil's assistants, e.g., Rutibel or Beelzebub, or even Satan himself.

As is always the case where magic plays an important part in the life of a group, Jamaican Pocomanians and revivalists have numerous techniques for offsetting the dangers of this world. Institutionalized prescriptions for dealing with cultural fears range through such simple procedures as fasting, praying, singing hymns, reading Psalms, anointing with oils and perfumes, drinking consecrated water, wearing talismans and other charms, and flogging to drive out evil spirits, through "bush" baths, blood baths, rites for "taking off" duppies, "benedictions," and purificatory rituals which involve the use of fire and water.

Apparently divination is less important in Jamaican revivalist cults than it is in the syncretistic cults of Cuba, Trinidad, Brazil, Haiti, and South Africa. Seers and prophets are found in West Kingston among the Leaders, Captains, and Shepherds, but divining is also practiced by others.

In Jamaica, as elsewhere, it is difficult to determine the frequency with which divining, conjuring, and healing are practiced. The magical beliefs are widely known, and, according to informants, the ritual acts are widely employed. One is impressed by the many efforts which are made to counteract life's hazards and the alleged evil intentions of enemies and bad spirits. These acts are a significant part of West Kingston life regardless of the actual frequency of deliberately harmful rites. As is true wherever magic is entrenched, wrong diagnoses and ineffective prescriptions fail to destroy the underlying beliefs because failures have their explanations.

Chicanery and victimizing occur in the practice of magic in West Kingston, but the majority of the practitioners seem to believe in their procedures as strongly as do ordinary devotees.

Most of the sections which make up West Kingston have no churches of the established denominations. For the most part, religious interests and needs in this area are met by such faiths as the Church of God, Gospel Hall, and Jehovah's Witnesses, and by from sixty to eighty revivalist churches. Often it is difficult to distinguish between Pocomania and revivalist cults, but Pocomanians seem to utilize conjuring more frequently, to make use

of more extreme techniques of healing, and to place less emphasis on preaching and more emphasis on singing and dancing than Revival Zionists.

For the most part, revivalist leaders in West Kingston are country-born, only slightly educated, and hard-pressed financially. The authoritarianism of the leader is marked in nearly every revivalist group, as is the competitiveness between leaders. Church memberships, ranging from twenty to one hundred and fifty or more, usually include four or five times as many women as men.

The laws of Jamaica which relate to cult activities reflect the sentiments of the community, or at least the articulate and influential segments of the community. Two laws deal specifically with obeah, prohibiting such practice for unlawful purposes, or for gain, or for the purpose of frightening any person. The law provides penalties for those who consult for fraudulent purpose a practitioner of obeah. Forbidden also is the printing, sale, distribution, importation, and possession of publications dealing with magic. Other laws, such as those on the control of meetings in public places and night noises prevention, have an indirect bearing on the cults. From time to time, concerned persons advocate stricter legislation for the control of revivalism, but no action along these lines has been taken in recent years. More repressive legislation might drive revivalism underground until it broke out again in another form.

Strong charges against revivalism have been brought by Protestant leaders, but these blanket indictments are inapplicable to many of the groups studied in West Kingston in 1953. Revivalism is geared to lower-class *mores*, but the judgments of revivalism have been made by persons with a middle-class outlook. Actually, lower-class *mores* are supported by certain supernatural sanctions and by the justifications supplied by revivalist leaders.

Race prejudice *per se* is relatively weak in Jamaica, but class and shade prejudice are widespread. The popularity of pentecostal sects and of revivalist cults cannot be attributed, as is the case with the separatist churches in South Africa, to the colour bar. However, it is possible that the recent growth of the Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the Church of God, and the continued appeal of revivalism, are not due entirely to the zeal and fervour of these churches, but are related to the existence and manifestation of society-wide class and shade prejudices.

Demonstrative religions provide much more than entertainment, sensual thrill, release for people whose lives are dull, other-world compensation, and a putative society where the underprivileged of this world are the élite. Revivalism, like all religions, functions to re-establish interaction among people who are passing through major life crises. Revivalist ceremonies offer many opportunities for self-expression, and, through office-holding, individuals gain recognition. Devotees receive advice and counsel from the leader, as well as friendship and affection from fellow members. Although some healing methods undoubtedly are injurious, many persons believe that beneficial treatments can be obtained from healers. On the positive side, conjuring

may serve as an outlet for some of the individual's aggressive impulses. Mutual aid functions of revivalism are limited largely to providing assistance in serious emergencies. Revivalism's artistic aspects are found in the ubiquitous singing and drumming, and in the decoration of the churches. Mystic experiences, especially identification with archangels and other spirits through possession, complement the "intellectually" satisfying world view of revivalism. Revivalist churches, and the other religious groups in Jamaica, are functionally related to the stratification system. Jamaican revivalism is not a political underground, but it does have some political implications. Some leaders are openly identified with one or the other of the two main political parties; others, by stressing the overwhelming importance of preparing for life in the next world, encourage withdrawal from Jamaican political life. The latter emphasis reinforces the *status quo*. Functionally, the other-world orientation of revivalists is well adapted to their economic situation. Revivalist doctrines justify common-law marriage and temporary unions, the prevailing marital arrangements among lower-class Jamaicans. With the exception of the "teachings" of the leader during the various services and the familial indoctrination of children with revivalist beliefs, the educational functions of these cults are negligible.

One of the dysfunctions of revivalism is the financial exploitation of its devotees. Undoubtedly, the health of some persons has been worsened by the healing procedures which are often associated with revivalism, and the emotional difficulties of others have been increased by their preoccupation with duppies. Under the present living conditions of lower-class Jamaicans, we conclude that revivalist activities are more functional than dysfunctional for most members. Revivalism is related to the major aspects of Jamaican culture, and it contributes to the perpetuation of most of the existing social structures.

In those aspects of Jamaican culture which stem from institutions common to both Africa and Europe, two streams of tradition have reinforced one another. In other cases, European and African cultures have been merged to produce current beliefs and practices. American Indian culture elements have been unimportant in the development of Jamaican culture. In Jamaica, technology, economic life, art, and government are derived almost entirely from European traditions. In folklore, music and magic, the African influence is quite strong, and kinship institutions, language and religion show some African influences.

Acculturation studies throw light on the processes by means of which cultural changes take place, and they reveal the tenacity of custom in the contact situation. Retention, reinterpretation, and reintegration are useful concepts in studying cultural change. These aspects of acculturation vary from region to region, and, more importantly, from social class to social class.

The acceptance of new outer forms does not necessarily prevent the retention of segments of an old value-system. In ritual, in theology, and in such matters as the rejection of the European emphasis on guilt and punish-

ment for guilt, Jamaican revivalism reveals much that is non-European.

Despite the disapproval and hostility of middle and upper-class Jamaicans to the continuance of the syncretistic revivalist cults, their early disappearance seems unlikely. Pure and reinterpreted Africanisms are deeply embedded, integral parts of the Pocomania-Revivalism-Obeah complex and they will last as long as revivalism lasts.

Jamaican revivalism is an adjustive-escapist type of activity and its future will depend in part on the changes which occur (or do not occur) in the economic, educational, and social conditions of the lower-class population and on the increase or decrease in appeal of such functional alternatives as the established religious denominations, the Pentecostal sects, and the Ras Tafari movement.

THE ACCULTURATIVE PROCESS IN WEST KINGSTON REVIVALISM

<i>European Elements</i>	<i>African Elements</i>	<i>The Revivalist Complex</i>
Bible	Ashanti and other West African religious beliefs	Bible-African beliefs— de Laurence books
Monotheism	Polytheism	Polytheism
Saints, archangels	Gods	Spirits
Relatively inactive spiritual beings	Very active gods	Very active spirits
Sharp contrast between good and evil	Nothing entirely good or entirely bad	Nothing entirely good or entirely bad
Wakes, funerals; Christ's ascension forty days after his resurrection.	Partial and definitive burials; ancestor cult	Wakes, funerals, Nine-Nights, Forty Days, Memorials
Single soul concept	Multiple soul concept	Dual soul concept (soul and duppy)
Biblical accounts of summoning the spirits of the dead (p. 378, fn. a)	Magician able to use a captured soul as his "messenger"	Summoning of spirits of the dead to assist a practitioner
	Stones with power	Stones with power
Biblical blood rites	Blood sacrifices	Blood rites (baths and offerings)
	Leaves (herbs)	Leaves (religious and magical rituals)
Baptism	Water as an important ritual element	Baptismal rites and other religious and magical uses of water
	Ritual swords	Ritual swords, machetes, and scissors
Biblical references to snakes (Moses changes a staff into a serpent, etc.)	Serpents as supernatural beings	Belief that duppies may appear in form of snakes, lizards and frogs
	Crossroads as important place in African belief	Crossroads a favourite place for magical rites

European Elements

Witches and vampires

Emphasis on melody
and harmony

Simple metrical rhythm

Collective singing

Biblical precept on
removal of shoes

Interpretation of dreams
in divining future events

Magical charms

Monogamy prescribed

African Elements

Witches and vampires

Throwing food for gods

Possession by gods

Drums and rattles

Emphasis on rhythm

Polyrhythms

Responsorial singing
of leader and chorusBody-swaying and hand-
clappingDances during religious
ceremoniesRemoval of shoes is good
form in dancingRevelation in giving
remediesInterpretation of dreams
in divining future events

Magical charms

Polygyny sanctioned

Supernatural sanctions
of plural marriage*The Revivalist Complex*

Witches and vampires

Throwing food for spirits

Possession by spirits

Drums and rattles

Emphasis on rhythm

Polyrhythms

Responsorial singing of
leader and chorusBody-swaying and hand-
clapping"Spiritual" dancing
(labouring in the spirit)Removal of possessed
person's shoesRevelation of remedies
by spiritsInterpretation of dreams
in divining future events

Magical charms

Afro-Jamaican "marriage"

Regard which all of a
man's wives and all of
his children have for
his spirit after his death.

